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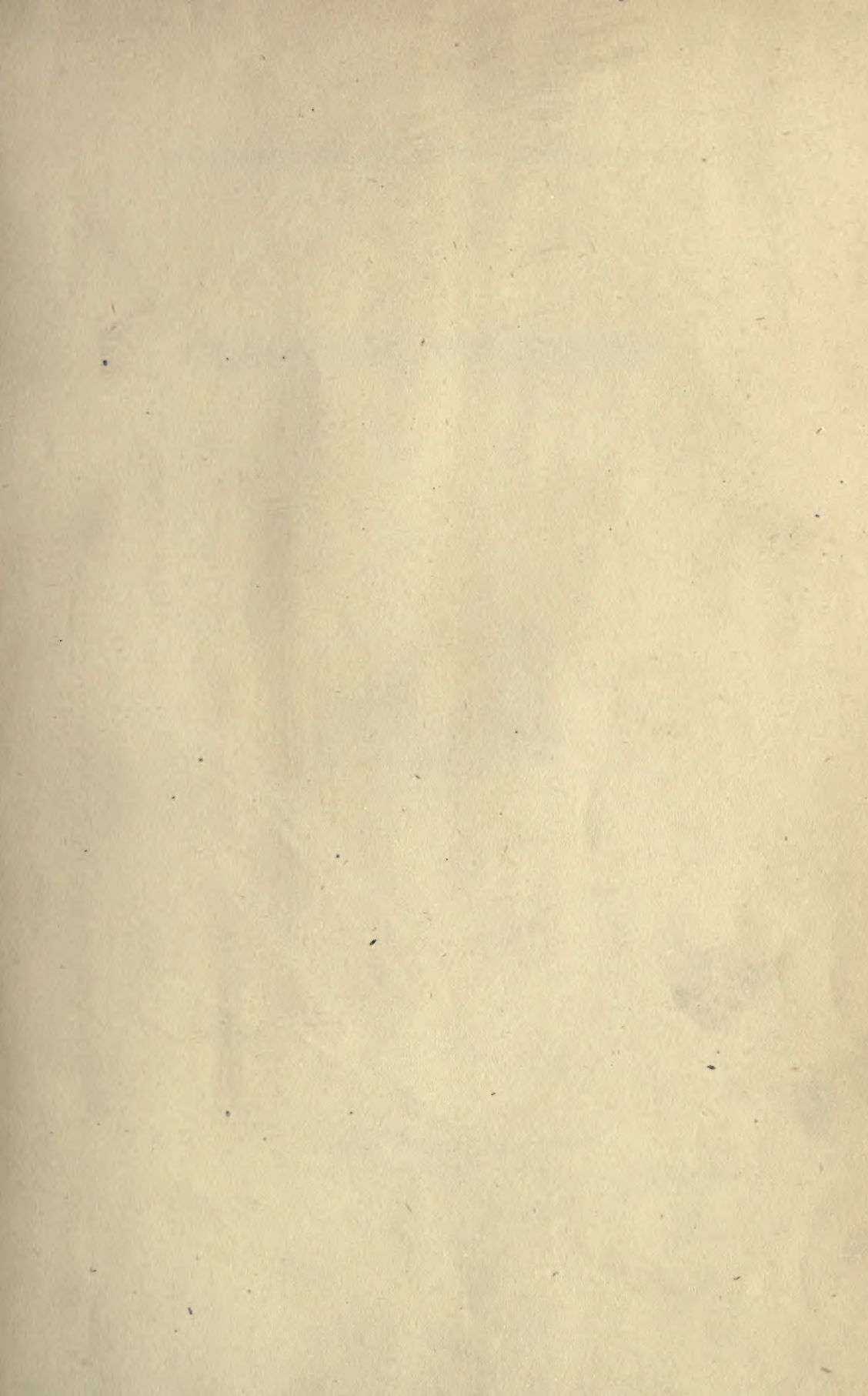


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VOLUME 2

EDWARD BULL CLAPP
WILLIAM AUGUSTUS MERRILL
HERBERT CHESTER NUTTING

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CONTENTS

- NUMBER 1.—Some Textual Criticisms on the Eighth Book of the *De Vita Caesarum* of Suetonius, by William Hardy Alexander. Pages 1-33.
- NUMBER 2.—Cicero's Knowledge of Lucretius's Poem, by William A. Merrill. Pages 35-42.
- NUMBER 3.—The Conspiracy at Rome in 66-65 B.C., by H. C. Nutting. Pages 43-55.
- NUMBER 4.—On the Contracted Genitive in *-i* in Latin, by William A. Merrill. Pages 57-79.
- NUMBER 5.—Epaphos and the Egyptian Apis, by Ivan M. Linforth. Pages 81-92.
- NUMBER 6.—Studies in the Text of Lucretius, by William A. Merrill. Pages 93-150.
- NUMBER 7.—The Separation of the Attributive Adjective from its Substantive in Plautus, by Winthrop L. Keep. Pages 151-164.
- NUMBER 8.—The *'Oapιστίς* of Theocritus, by Edward B. Clapp. Pages 165-171.
- NUMBER 9.—Notes on the Text of the *Corpus Tibullianum*, by Monroe E. Deutsch. Pages 173-226.
- NUMBER 10.—The Archetype of Lucretius, by William A. Merrill. Pages 227-235.
- NUMBER 11.—Corruption in the Manuscripts of Lucretius, by William A. Merrill. Pages 237-253.
- NUMBER 12.—Proposed Emendations of Lucretius, by William A. Merrill. Pages 255-256.
- NUMBER 13.—Greek and Latin Glyconics, by Leon Josiah Richardson. Pages 257-265.
- NUMBER 14.—The Plot to Murder Caesar on the Bridge, by Monroe E. Deutsch. Pages 267-278.
- NUMBER 15.—Greek Acting in the Fifth Century, by James Turney Allen. Pages 279-289.
- NUMBER 16.—On Terence, *Adelphoe* 511-516, by Clinton C. Conrad. Pages 291-303.

ERRATA

- Page 82, line 3 from bottom. *For where read were.*
- Page 114, line 3. *For 7 read 8.*
- Page 127, line 11. *For amplexum read amplexus.*
- Page 130, line 9. *For absint read absunt.*
line 19. *For and read had.*
- Page 135, line 7. *For 2 read 12.*
- Page 138, line 8 from bottom. *For minitante read minitanti.*
- Page 139, line 1. *For minitante read minitanti.*
- Page 142, line 13. *For calidam read validam.*
- Page 167, line 13 from bottom. *For then read there.*
- Page 189, note 52. *For Goldbery read Golbery.*
- Page 196, line 1. *For Goldbery read Golbery.*
- Page 202, line 9. *For Mattaire read Maittaire.*
line 14 from bottom. *For it read its.*
- Page 223, last line. Insert comma between propinqui and ira.
- Page 242, second column, line 27. *For g for i read g for l.*
- Page 246, first column, line 23. *For ii 144 read iii 144.*
line 41. *For 329 read 339.*
- Page 248, first column, line 11. *For 736 read 776.*
- Page 249, second column, line 2 from bottom. *For 645 read 635.*
- Page 301, line 15. *For of read to.*

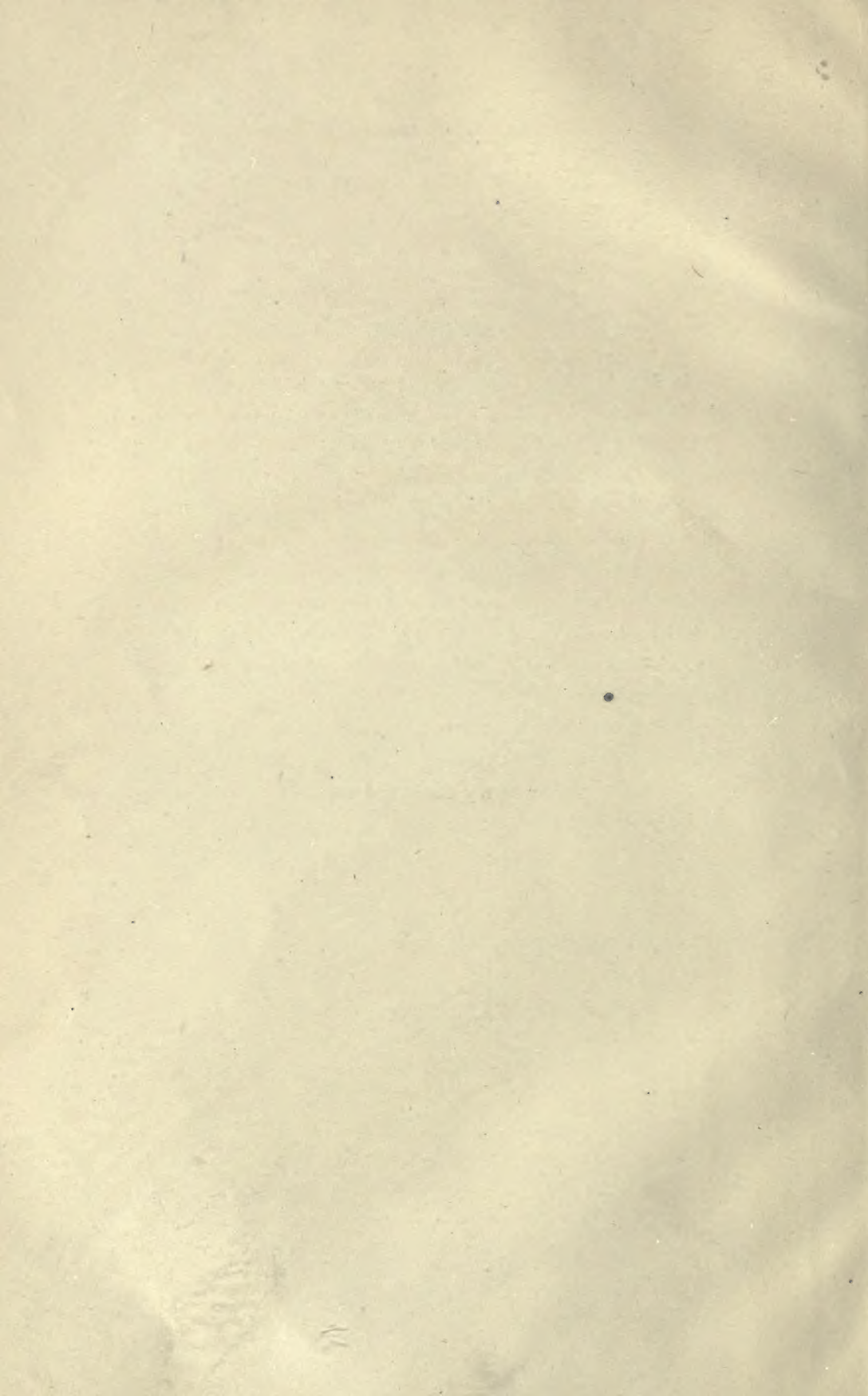
PREFACE.

In March, 1906, I submitted to an examining committee of the University of California faculty a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy entitled "Adversaria Critica in Suetonii de Vita Caesarum Librum Octavum." Some of the decisions reached in the original dissertation have been reversed in the light of further investigation and reflection, and additional evidence has been accumulated on those points where there has appeared to be no good reason for change, but on the whole the material collected for the thesis supplies the bulk of the present essay. A statement of the passages considered in it will be found on the following page.

I desire to acknowledge here with much gratitude my indebtedness to Professor H. C. Nutting of the University of California for his close criticism of my thesis and his friendly suggestions for its betterment.

WILLIAM HARDY ALEXANDER.

Western University, London, Ontario,
June, 1907.



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SOME TEXTUAL CRITICISMS ON THE
EIGHTH BOOK OF THE DE VITA
CAESARUM OF SUETONIUS.

BY

WILLIAM HARDY ALEXANDER.

INDEX OF PASSAGES.

(The figures in brackets refer to the page and line of Roth's edition of Suetonius in the Teubner series.)

1. Vesp. 2 (225, 24). Read *tribunus militum*.
2. Vesp. 4 (226, 15). Retain *amici*.
3. Vesp. 12 (231, 25). After *potestatem* supply *aut*.
4. Vesp. 15 (232, 23). After *umquam* supply *laetatus est et quamquam*.
5. Vesp. 23 (234, 21). Read *satis ut et de*.
6. Vesp. 23 (235, 7). Read *ponerent*.
7. Tit. 2 (236, 16). Omit *-que*.
8. Tit. 8 (238, 38). After *superioribus* read *a se concessa* and (239, 1) omit *principibus*.
9. Tit. 8 (239, 30). Read *nihil publice nisi sibi perisse*.
10. Domit. 1 (241, 26). Read *variae*.
11. Domit. 3 (242, 37). For *filium* read *filiam*, and after *alteroque anno* supply *principatus filium, eodem illo anno*.
12. Domit. 4 (244, 8). Read *sacro, cum quidem*.
13. Domit. 14 (250, 4). Read *σοί, κάπρε, θυομένω*.
14. Domit. 21 (250, 9). Supply *ac* after *dixit*.

INTRODUCTION.¹

The purpose of these pages is to investigate, chiefly upon the basis of internal evidence, the text of the passages given in the preceding index. Palaeographic arguments will however be used at times, and Ms. authority for all important variants will be indicated and weighed. To facilitate an understanding of so much of the discussion as rests upon the relative value of Mss., a short introduction is necessary, exhibiting the results of the most recent critical work upon the Suetonian codices.

Previous to 1857 there had been no attempt to classify scientifically the Mss. of the *De Vita Caesarum*; there are vague references to "libri optimi," "libri boni," or "libri deteriores," categories formed very much according to the prejudices of individual editors. But in that year C. L. Roth, in his masterly preface to the Teubner Suetonius, pointed out² the disadvantage under which the previous editions had labored, and sought to remove it by grouping, in four divisions, constituting a descending scale of merit, the Mss. with which he was acquainted.³ Unfortunately he was able to collate in person⁴ only the Codex Memmianus and the Codex Parisinus 6116, depending for the rest "mainly on the often inaccurate excerpts of the earlier editors;"⁵ in consequence his classification of necessity lacked finality, though his wonderful intuition and excellent judgment enabled him to achieve in the construction of his text results which are actually astonishing.⁶

In 1862 Gustav Becker brought forward⁷ readings from an

¹ The following are constantly referred to in the foot-notes to the thesis:

1. C. Suetoni Tranquilli quae supersunt omnia rec. C. L. Roth. (Leipzig, Teubner Press, 1904.)

2. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, vols. xii (1901) and xvi (1905). Referred to in abbreviated form as H. xii and H. xvi.

3. Troisième Étude sur l'Histoire du Texte de Suétone de Vita Caesarum: Classification des Manuscrits. Par L. Preud'homme. (Brussels, Hayez Press, 1904.) Referred to as Preud'homme T. E. or as T. E. simply.

² *Intro.* v: Verum hoc nondum etc.

³ *Intro.* xxiii-xxix.

⁴ *Intro.* xxii and xxvii.

⁵ H. xii 19.

⁶ Preud'homme, T. E. 3.

⁷ In his *Quaestiones Criticae de C. Suetonii Tranquilli de Vita Caesarum libris viii*, Memel.

authority the worth of which had up to that time been practically unrecognized,⁸ the Gudianus 268, a Ms. of the eleventh century; though he perhaps overestimated its value,⁹ his enthusiasm regarding it served the useful purpose of directing critical attention towards this Ms. of really prime importance in Suetonian text-criticism. Again in 1867 he published¹⁰ an account, strangely incomplete,¹¹ of the Vaticanus Lipsii (No. 1904), the worth of which Roth had already surmised.¹²

In 1901 and in 1905 Professor Clement Lawrence Smith of Harvard University issued¹³ accounts of personal examinations into the relations existing among a number of Mss. of the Lives, chiefly those of later date (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries). In 1901 there appeared¹⁴ a study of a certain Parisian Ms. of the *De Vita Caesarum*, No. 5809, by Professor Albert A. Howard, also of Harvard University, in which he showed a disposition to attribute greater weight to Mss. of the fifteenth century than had Roth in his introduction.¹⁵

Finally, in 1902 M. Leo Preud'homme, member of the Royal Academy of Belgium, published¹⁶ two articles dealing with minor Suetonian problems such as the sources and values of the various excerpta (*Lislaeana*, *Vossiana*, et al.), and in 1904 his *Troisième Étude*,¹⁷ in which he covered with the minutest diligence the whole field of textual criticism as it relates to the *De Vita Caesarum*, and was able in consequence to construct a scheme of relationship among the codices¹⁸ which by its accuracy and definiteness marks a notable advance in our knowledge of the sources of the text of Suetonius. This *Troisième Étude* has been fol-

⁸ Roth was entirely unacquainted with it (Preud'homme T. E. 4, footnote 1) and Fr. A. Wolf employed it only in the most slovenly fashion (Preud'homme T. E. 65).

⁹ Preud'homme, T. E. 65.

¹⁰ In *Symbola Philologorum Bonnensium* II 687 sqq.

¹¹ Preud'homme T. E. 65.

¹² *Introd.* xxvii.

¹³ H. xii 19-58 and xvi 1-14.

¹⁴ H. xii 261-266.

¹⁵ xxix.

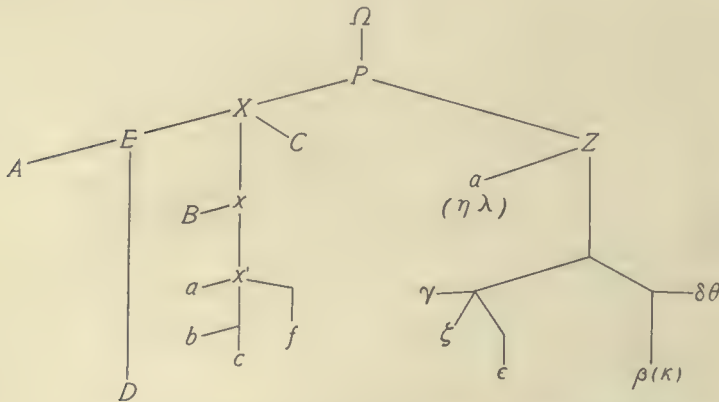
¹⁶ In *Bulletins de l'Académie royale de Belgique*, 1902, pp. 299-328 and 544-551.

¹⁷ In vol. lxxiii of the Academy's publications (1904), pp. 1-94.

¹⁸ T. E. 61.

lowed by a text¹⁹ founded upon the critical results which it achieved; this stands for the present as the last word on the subject.

The scheme of relationship among the Mss. of the De Vita Caesarum is given by M. Preud'homme thus:



Ω. Early ancestor of P, written in capitals, possibly of fifth century.

P. Archetype of all the known Mss. of the De Vita Caesarum.

X. Archetype of the Mss. of the first group.

Z. Archetype of the Mss. of the second group.

x. Archetype of B and x'.

x'. Archetype of a b c f.

E. Archetype of A and D.²⁰

A. Codex Memmianus, Parisinus 6115, ninth century.²¹

B. Codex Vaticanus Lipsii, No. 1904, eleventh century, containing only the first three Lives and a short portion of the Caligula.

C. Codex Wulfenbuttelanus or Gudianus 268, eleventh century.

D. Codex Parisinus 5804, fourteenth century.

a. Codex Medicus 68, 7 (called by Roth, after Jac. Gronovius, Med. 3), eleventh century.

b. Codex Parisinus 5801, twelfth century.

c. Codex Medicus 66, 39 (called by Roth, after Jac. Gronovius, Med. 1), thirteenth century.

f. Codex Montepessulanus 117, thirteenth century.

a. Codex Londiniensis, Brit. Mus. 15 C III, twelfth century.

¹⁹ Leyden, press of G. F. Theonville, 1906.

²⁰ M. Preud'homme does not give E in his scheme, but I have ventured to introduce it on the strength of his remarks in T. E. 37 regarding the relationship of A and D.

²¹ A full description of this and all the following Mss. is given in Preud'homme, T. E., pp. 63-78.

- β. Codex Parisinus 6116, twelfth century.
- γ. Codex Parisinus 5802, thirteenth century.
- δ. Codex Medicus 64, 8 (called by Roth, after Jac. Gronovius, Med. 2), thirteenth century.
- ε. Codex Suessionis 19, thirteenth century.
- ζ. Codex Cantabrigensis, kk. 5, 24, thirteenth century.
- η. Codex Sionensis, twelfth century.
- θ. Codex Dunelmensis, C III 18, twelfth century.
- κ. Codex Sionensis, twelfth century.
- λ. Codex Londiniensis, Brit. Mus. 15 C IV, thirteenth century.

The existing Mss. fall then into two groups, X and Z, of which the first is the more important upon the whole, since it contains four codices (A B C a) of greater antiquity than any in the second division, and also because the lines of descent are so much better defined in it than in Z: there will of course for all that be places where Z preserves the true reading as against X.²² It will be observed further that in M. Preud'homme's scheme no account is taken of any Ms. later than the thirteenth century, for the reason that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when the study of classical Latin had been revived in Italy, correction and revision of the Mss. solely on the basis of the opinion of this or that scholar was the established practice, the original text becoming in this way farther and farther obscured;²³ and it is interesting to note that in this attitude towards these later Mss. M. Preud'homme, the last student of the Suetonian text-sources, finds himself entirely at one with Roth, the pioneer in the same field.²⁴ It is doubtful, therefore, whether one should follow Professors Smith and Howard in attaching any importance to the Mss. of the fourteenth and fifteen centuries. It is not denied that these Mss. contain some excellent readings at places where our more authoritative Mss. are weak, but unfortunately suspicion must always attach to the source of these readings.

Now that the relationship of the more important Mss. of the Lives has been outlined, this introduction may be brought to a close by a word upon the general principles of criticism adopted

²² See a list in Preud'homme, T. E. 15.

²³ Preud'homme, T. E. 60.

²⁴ *Introd.* xxix.

for the discussions to follow. The appeal to the *necessary meaning* of a sentence or clause must, it is conceded, be used with caution at all times; it becomes an efficient argument only when a passage still remains unsatisfactory after a very liberal interpretation of the Ms. tradition. Where, however, dissatisfaction admittedly exists, all reasonable latitude should be permitted in emendation and correction, since it is after all of more consequence that a readable text should be established than that an over-refined ideal of truth should be set up. Yet, on the other hand, Ms. authority is to be treated with all respect; departures made from it simply as short-cuts to the solution of knotty problems are to be viewed with suspicion as being ultimately subversive of all sound textual criticism. There is in fine a medial policy possible as between regard for the sense and respect for the Mss.

The suggestions for the filling of lacunae stand of course upon a different footing; there all is uncertainty, and ultimate tests of correctness fail. Still, lacunae in ancient Mss. must have arisen from slips similar to those which occasion them at times in our own experience of written documents; conjectures therefore which deal with them may properly be classified as presenting more or less probability proportionately as they seem to exhibit the error arising from conditions more or less close to those which are generally admitted to be the cause of such mistakes. Another test for determining the proximate worth of such conjectures will be the relation they bear to certain ascertained features of an author's style and vocabulary, or, at any rate, to the general literary character of his age, and of course they must be judged severely on the basis of their germaneness to the apparent thought of the passage they seek to remedy. These standards will not be forgotten wherever in the dissertation the necessity for applying them may arise.

Throughout the thesis it will be the consistent practice to give (1) the form of the text as it stands in Roth, (2) the *variae lectiones* of the Mss., (3) the emendations or suggestions of scholars upon the locus: these items will be followed by a general discussion of the passage from the viewpoint of textual criticism.

DISCUSSION OF PASSAGES.

I.

(1) Vesp. 2 (225, 24). *Tribunatum militum in Thracia meruit.*

(2) No Ms. variation till the *deteriores* are reached, when *tribunus* appears. This was approved by Torrentius, Duker, Oudendorp, Bremi, and inserted in the text by Wolf.¹

(3) *Tribunatu meruit*, Lipsius, suspecting a dittography; so also Casaubon and Ernesti.

Mereo in its military sense occurs in the following Suetonian passages: Jul. 3, *Meruit et sub Servilio Isaurico in Cilicia, sed brevi tempore*; Tit. 4, *Tribunus militum et in Germania et in Britannia meruit*; Gram. 9, *Deinde in Macedonia corniculo, mox equo meruit*; Vit. Hor. (297, 8), *Bello Philippensi tribunus militum meruit*. With these cases may be compared Tac. Ann. II 10, *Nam pleraque Latino sermone interiaciebat, ut qui Romanis in castris ductor popularium meruisset*, where *mereo* is used without object but attended by a nominative of the office, and again Suet. Aug. 2, *Stipendia in Sicilia tribunus militum fecit*, and Tib. 9, *Stipendia prima expeditione Cantabrica tribunus militum fecit*, in each of which *stipendia fecit* is a clear equivalent of *meruit*. *Mereo* or *mereor*, so far as information is available on the point, do not, when employed in the military sense, appear to take any object other than *stipendia*: in none of the Suetonian instances cited does *mereo* take any object whatever. These facts may be safely regarded as establishing a certain presumption against the reading *tribunatum*.

If *tribunatum* be an error, there remains the question of its origin as the reading of P. It may perhaps be thus explained; the text in Ω stood

¹ See his Suetonius (Leipzig, 1802). He there quotes Ernesti's note ad loc. which reads: "Graevius et Burmannus *tribunatum*, quam (lectionem) Graevius sic interpretatur ut *tribunatum* nactus sit quo in Thracia fungeretur. Sed primum, loca ubi quis tribunus militet non ad nomen dignitatis referuntur sed ad verbum, ut pateat ubi quis honore functus sit: deinde dubito Latinos dicere *tribunatum merere*. Melius alii, Torrentius et Duker, *tribunus militum*. Sic alibi solet Suet. dicere in tali re, et id bene consenti sequenti, *Quaestor...cepit*." Wolf adds: "Hoc in ipso textu correxi propter evidentiam quam optime demonstravit Bremius."

TRIBVNVS MILITVM IN THRACIA MERVIT.²

Through some accident the final stroke of the N was not clearly attached to the preceding part of the letter, and the copyist as a result transmitted the following form of text,

TRIBVATVS MILITVM IN THRACIA MERVIT.

A later hand entered a correction above the line thus,

TRIBV^NATVS MILITVM IN THRACIA MERVIT,

and either the same or some subsequent hand made what now appeared a necessary emendation, viz, the altering of *tribunatus* to an accusative to serve as the object of *meruit*.

II.

(1) Vesp. 4 (226, 12). *Medium tempus ad proconsulatum usque in otio secessuque egit, Agrippinam timens potentem adhuc apud filium et defuncti quoque Narcissi amici perosam.*

(2) *Amici*: so all the Mss. of the scheme.

Amicos: only the deteriores and Edd. Rom. 1 and 2.³

(3) The majority of editors and critics have read *amicos*, and so most recently Madvig, Adv. II 570. Roth however (1857) and Preud'homme (1906) retain *amici*. Modderman proposes *amicitiam periculosam* as a substitute for *amici perosam*.

This is a case where one would instinctively pronounce *amici* untenable, but the consensus of all the important Mss. on the reading indicates it as the lection of P; it deserves in consequence a full investigation.

Those who accept the alteration *amicos* consider the meaning to be "fearing Agrippina, who still held dominant influence over her son and hated the friends of the dead Narcissus as well." But with *amici* retained it is possible to offer an explanation at least equally satisfactory, "fearing Agrippina, who still held

² M. Preud'homme seems (T. E. 88) to offer reasonable proof that Ω was written in capitals (presumably rustic).

³ Edd. Rom. 1 and 2 are these: editio Ant. Campani 1470, and editio Io. Andreae 1470.

dominant influence over her son and hated as well the dead Narcissus, his (Vespasian's) friend." Two objections to this interpretation may be considered.

(1) *Timens. .potentem. .perosam* are not, properly speaking, parallel in point of time as the above translation makes them, *perosam* referring to a past hatred terminated by Narcissus's death, and *timens* and *potentem* to circumstances contemporaneous with the main verb *egit*. But (a) it may be doubted whether in a person of Agrippina's temperament there would be any real cessation of the feeling simply because its original provocative was removed from the scene, and (b) if it be thought necessary to treat *perosam* as a *past* participle, indicating time antecedent to *timens* and *potentem*, justification for that course may be had from Livy III 39, *superbiam violentiamque tum perosos regis*, where *perosos* clearly relates to a time previous to that indicated by the controlling participle *admonentem* which precedes.

(2) *Defuncti Narcissi amici* as an object of *perosam* is untenable, as *perosus* elsewhere governs only the accusative. Boethius, Cons. Phil. II 4 contains however the following sentence,

Vivit, inquam, tibi que tantum, vitæ huius exosa, spiritum servat, in which the participle of identical meaning, *exosa*, is construed with the genitive; and, if it be argued that Boethius is rather far down the course of Latinity to be cited in the discussion, there is the Ciceronian passage, Ep. ad Att. VIII 4, 1,

Dionysius quidem tuus potius quam noster. . . ne tui quidem testimonii quod ei sæpe apud me dederas veritus, superbum se præbuit in fortuna quam putavit nostram fore,

with its strange-sounding phrase *ne tui quidem testimonii. . . veritus*. With regard to the latter it is true that in the earlier language traces are found of *vereor* with the genitive, but it would surely be making a very great assumption to assert that the Ciceronian example is a deliberately affected archaism. It is rather the case that in each of the three passages now under consideration the participle has for the moment in the mind of the writer dropped its participial character and become purely adjectival, so that *perosus* means "full of hatred against," *exosus*

“contemptuous of,” and *veritus* “regardful of.” Once the change from the participial nature to the adjectival has occurred, the complementary case shifts as well; as with each of these words in its verbal value the accusative is proper, so with each in its adjectival capacity objective relations are expressed by the dependent genitive. This has been noted frequently for the present participle;⁴ it appears that any statement made regarding it should be sufficiently extended to include the peculiar cases collected above and others of a similar character which undoubtedly exist in the literature.

To recapitulate, (1) *amici* has unanimous Ms. endorsement so far as the superior Mss. are concerned, (2) it is the harder reading, and as such must be retained if at all defensible, (3) there are not wanting analogies to show that it is probably sound syntax, though rather unusual and reflecting only a momentary phase of the writer’s mind rather than a generally accepted principle of the language. For these reasons it will be safe to maintain the Ms. tradition against change.

III.

(1) Vesp. 12 (231, 24). *Ac ne tribuniciam quidem potestatem * * * patris patriae appellationem nisi sero recepit.*

(2) All the Mss. of the scheme show a lacuna after *potestatem*, except C which has *nec patris patriae*. The deteriores have *et patris* or *patrisque*.

(3) Roth proposed *aut*, but did not insert it in his text. Professor C. L. Smith and M. Preud’homme incline to the reading of C, viz, *nec*, but the latter has not inserted it in his text. Hirschfeld, suspecting an extended haplography, ingeniously proposes *potestatem statim*.

Neque (nec) as a continuation of *ne...quidem* is confined apparently to the writings of Livy,⁵ and the testimony of C on such a point is vitiated by the obvious intention to correct which is seen in that Ms.⁶ When external evidence quite fails us, the most satisfactory plan will be to collect the examples in Suetonius

⁴ Gildersleeve, *Lat. Gr.* (1894) § 375.

⁵ Draeger, *Hist. Syn.* II 75 (§ 318, 13).

⁶ Preud’homme, *T. E.* 34-35.

bearing upon connectives after *ne...quidem*, and to form from this internal evidence some idea of the possibilities for remedying the text at a given point.

There are 30 examples⁷ of the kind in question to be found in Suetonius and these may be classed as follows:

Ne...quidem is followed by

(1) Connectives.

ac (atque): Tib. 32, 61;⁸ Calig. 52; Tit. 7, 11; Domit. 13.

nedum.⁸ Tit. 1; Gram. 1.

et: Aug. 10.

-que: Tib. 10.

(2) Adversatives.

sed: Jul. 55, 78, 80; Aug. 78; Tib. 52; Calig. 50; Otho 8; Tit. 9.

verum: Aug. 16.

(3) Disjunctives.

aut: Aug. 25, 53; Tib. 15, 72; Calig. 24; Nero 44; Vit. 2, 13; Gram. 4.

-ve: Vesp. 16.

In the above classification one case really overlaps Vit. 2, but this in no way affects the course of the argument.

From the sense of the passage *ac ne tribuniciam quidem potestatem... patris patriae appellationem nisi sero recepit* it is readily inferred that the two offices mentioned are not in any way to be opposed to each other, and so for purposes of this investigation the conjunctions of (2) have no further significance. Again in list (1) *nedum*, which lays the weight of emphasis upon the second member of a combination, would be inappropriate here where the more important office of tribune is mentioned first. The issue then lies between predication in connection as represented by *et*, *-que*, *ac*, and predication by distribution as championed by *aut*. A tabular statement of the way in which these conjunctions are used in combination with *ne...quidem* follows. In all the passages indicated in this table *ne...quidem* introduces the first of the two elements to be brought into connection with each other, and *et*, *ac*, *-que*, or *aut* the second.

⁷ Excluding two apparent cases in Claud. 3 and 11.

⁸ For this classification of *nedum* see Gildersleeve, Lat. Gr. § 482, R. 2.

(1) Nouns.

(a) Governed by prepositions.

aut: Aug. 25, 53; Calig. 24; Vit. 13; Gram. 4.

(b) Ablatives absolute.

aut: Nero 44.

(c) Objects in the accusative.

aut: Tib. 15, 72.

(d) Indirect objects.

-ve: Vesp. 16.

(e) Local ablatives.

ac: Domit. 13.

(2) Adjectives.

ac (atque): Calig. 52; Tib. 61; Tit. 7, 11.*et*: Aug. 10.

(3) Verbs.

-que: Tib. 10; Nero 37.*ac*: Tib. 32.

(4) Adverbs.

aut: Vit. 2.

From the results here obtained it appears that in Suetonius *aut* is used almost exclusively after *ne...quidem* in cases where nouns in their various relations are to be brought together, and, as the problem in the passage under consideration is the effecting of a junction between *potestatem* and *appellationem*, there is at least a strong probability that *aut* is the missing word.

IV.

(1) Vesp. 15 (232, 22). *Ceterum neque caede cuiusquam umquam * * * iustis suppliciis inlacrimavit etiam et ingemuit.*

(2) The lacuna existed in P. The deteriores with Edd. Rom. 1 and 2 read *umquam laetatus*; this is also given by the manus secunda of δ.

(3) The later editors followed Edd. Rom. down to Roth, who suggested *laetatus est et*.

The editors before Roth seem to have felt that *neque* might stand as the equivalent of simple *non*, and hence, reading *laetatus*,

they punctuated directly after it, making *ceterum...laetatus* a participial phrase. But can *neque* fulfill that function? Numerous instances are adduced by H. A. J. Munro in his note on Lucr. II 23, and again by Harpers' Lex. (s. v. *neque*), of *nec* = *non*, more particularly in ante-classical Latin; it appears however in the classical period also as the equivalent of the simple negative, but only in certain formulas and other stereotyped expressions. But examples of *neque* with the simple negative value are not in evidence, Munro's instances from Lucretius being open to question. Hand's distinction⁹ that *nec* is adverbial, emphasizing the negation, and *neque* conjunctive, emphasizing the connection, seems thoroughly valid. There is not a single instance in Suetonius apart from the conventional *neque enim* where *neque* means *non*; on the other hand *nec* carries that value in possibly all of the following passages, Jul. 28, 78; Calig. 6; Claud. 43; Nero 26, 34; Otho 9, 12; Domit. 15, 20, while in some of them it does so indisputably. Neither the language in general then nor the examples afforded by Suetonius in particular give any ground for regarding *neque* as performing an adverbial function, and, with the fall of that hypothesis, the reading which makes *ceterum...laetatus* a participial phrase becomes untenable. *Neque* is therefore conjunctive, and should find its corresponding connective among those words lost in the lacuna; another *neque* might naturally be looked for, or, more probably in post-Augustan Latin, an *et*. The probability therefore is, as Roth saw, that the gap contained the first principal verb of the sentence and the conjunction which introduced the second.

But there is one point in which Roth's suggestion is unsatisfactory; it contains nothing which would serve to explain the origin of the lacuna. What was it that caused the scribe of P to omit *laetatus est et* or words of similar meaning? The occurrence of *quamquam* immediately after the conjunction *et* might afford a solution of the problem, since the scribe, upon returning to his copy after completing the word *umquam*, having before him the text:

⁹ Tursellinus IV 94.

umquam laetatus est et quamquam iustis suppliciis inlacrimavit resumed, not as he should have done after *umquam*, but after *quamquam*, being deceived by the homoeoteleuton of the two words.¹⁰

The construction of *quamquam iustis suppliciis inlacrimavit* may be regarded from two standpoints.

(a) The *iustis suppliciis* is an ablative absolute introduced by *quamquam*, a favorite Suetonian construction, found for example in Jul. 1, 70; Aug. 66, 97, 98 (ad fin.); Claud. 46; Vesp. 2; Tit. 3; Gram. 4, 21. *Suppliciis* is plural because of the plural implication in *caede cuiusquam* preceding. The rendering will be, "and, although the punishments (*viz.*: the various *caedes*) were just, he even shed tears over them."

(b) The *suppliciis* is a causal ablative with *inlacrimavit*, modified by *iustis*, which is itself prefaced by *quamquam* to establish the proper contrast between *iustis* and *inlacrimavit*. From this point of view *suppliciis* does not specially refer to *caede cuiusquam* preceding, but is general in its application, the rendering being, "and shed tears over punishments, however just." The peculiarity of order¹¹ which this explanation would seem to involve, *viz.*: *quamquam iustis suppliciis* for *suppliciis quamquam iustis*, is no barrier to the acceptance of the reading, as the following passages will show:

Domit. 17: *Puer . . . narrabat . . . illum interim, arrepto deductoque ad terram Stephano, conluctatum diu dum modo ferrum extorquere, modo, quamquam laniatis digitis, oculos effodere conatur.*

Here *digitis* may fairly be considered an instrumental ablative, and it will be observed how the *quamquam* plus the participle

¹⁰ Cf. Madvig's emendation of Hdt. I 167: τῶν δὲ διαφθαρῶν νεῶν τοὺς ἄνδρας οἳ τε Καρχηδόνοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ ἔλαχόν τε αὐτῶν πλείους καὶ κ.τ.λ. where he proposed οἳ τε Καρχηδόνοι καὶ οἱ Τυρσηνοὶ διενείμαντο καὶ οἱ Τ., and, more particularly, his shrewd correction of Seneca, De Tranquil. Animae V 5, *Curius Dentatus aiebat malle se esse mortuum quam vivere*, to *Curius . . . quam <nequam> vivere*.

¹¹ It has been suggested to me that, if the reading were *quamvis iustis*, there would be no difficulty as to the order. Now in silver Latin the tendency is for *quamquam* to take the place of *quamvis*, and it is probably through a recognition of this tendency that the matter of the word-order in the proposed reading may be most satisfactorily dealt with.

precedes the noun, though in English one would say "with his fingers, cruelly lacerated though they were."

Gram. 21: *Cui, cum se gratum et acceptum in modum amici videret, quamquam asserente matre, permansit tamen in statu servitutis.*

Here the whole *quamquam* construction looks forward to the *permansit*, which it modifies in a manner closely analogous to that in which *quamquam iustis* will, in the proposed reading, limit the expression *supplicii inlacrimavit*.

The copyist's liability to error at this point would be increased if the form of Ω were as follows:

CAEDECVIVSQVAMVMQVAM
LAETATVSESTETQVAMQVAM
IVSTISSUPPLICIIS, etc.

where there would be an homoeoteleuton of successive lines as well as of adjacent words.

V.

(1) Vesp. 23 (234, 21). *Utebatur et versibus Graecis tempestive satis et de quodam procerae staturae improbiusque nato μακρὰ βιβίās, κραδάων δολιχόσκιον ἔγχος, et de Cerulo liberto ὦ Δάχης κ.τ.λ.*

(2) X gives *et de* (following *satis*); ϵ gives *ut de*; $\alpha\beta\gamma$ give *et ut de*. The reading of X is followed by Burmann, Oudendorp, Ernesti, and Wolf, the reading of ϵ by Casaubon, Baumgarten-Crusius, Madvig (Adv. II 570), and Preud'homme.

(3) Preud'homme in the T. E. 9, foot-note 2, writes: "peut-être faut-il écrire *ut de* d'après ϵ , ou bien *ut et de*."¹²

The evidence afforded by the employment of the imperfect tense *utebatur* and by the general sense of the passage makes strongly against *et de quodam*, despite the fact of its being the reading of X. *Utebatur*, like all the imperfects from the beginning of chapter 21 down,¹³ suggests the habit, the general course of action. If therefore the reading of X be retained, the passage

¹² This emendation *ut et de* I reached independently, being not then in possession of M. Preud'homme's excellent treatise.

¹³ *Evigilabat, admittebat, calciebat, amiciebat, vacabat, transibat, transigebat.*

carries this meaning: "he was in the habit of using Greek lines rather seasonably both as regards a certain individual. . . . μακρὰ βιβάς, and also as regards Cerulus, a freedman, ὁ Λάχης." Such a statement implies that the unfortunate *quidam* and Cerulus were the constant butts of his raillery, and that he always used the same jest upon them. But what is manifestly designed is that there shall appear after *tempestive satis* a couple of specific instances of the habit already indicated by *utebatur*, and the limitations of language demand that these examples be preceded by a cautionary word, for, if the cautionary word is omitted, then at once the general statement is made to apply to specific instances with resultant confusion of entirely distinct forms of thought. This cautionary word, conformably to Latin usage, is *ut*.¹⁴

It is probable that in P the text stood thus,

ut
tempestive satis et de quodam etc.

the *ut* having been omitted in the first transcription and afterwards entered above the line and almost directly over *et*. The copyist of X ignored the added word and transmitted *et de quodam*; the scribe of Z may be conjectured to have transmitted *et ut de quodam*, writing both words but inserting *ut* in the wrong place. This was corrected in ε by the omission of *et*.¹⁵

VI.

(1) Vesp. 23 (235, 5). *Nuntiantis legatos decretam ei publice non mediocris summae statuam colosseam iussit vel continuo ponere, et cavam manum ostentans et paratam basim dicens.*

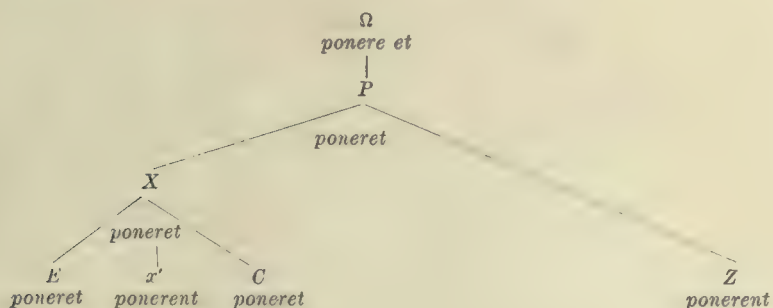
(2) ADC: *poneret*. Zx': *ponerent*.

(3) *Ponere et* is Roth's emendation upon the *poneret* of A. Preud'homme has followed him, inserting it in his text. Ernesti and Burmann edited *ponere* simply.

Let us first suppose that the reading of Ω was *ponere et*. In that case our scheme of Ms. relationship stands thus:

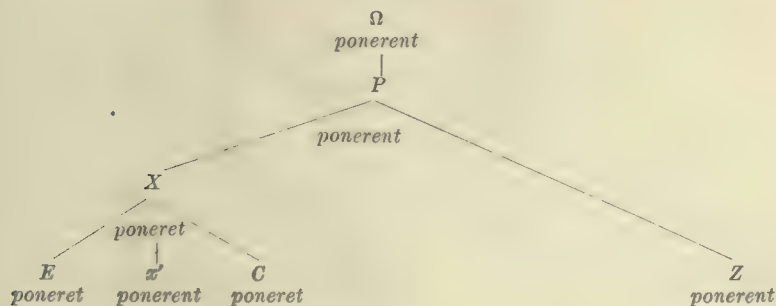
¹⁴ Cf. in Suetonius, Aug. 67; Tib. 37; Calig. 16; Gram. 2, 4.

¹⁵ Preud'homme, T. E. 44: "Il (ε) est, avec γ, le plus altéré de nos quatre manuscrits (αβγϵ)." It is from these four that Z is determined.



We shall then have to assume that all the Mss. now in our possession are wrong, ADC by correctly representing P, x' and Z (*i.e.*, $\alpha\beta\gamma\epsilon$) by altering the form of P to something that is even more remote from the truth than is the reading of P. The alteration moreover is not a particularly easy one; a more natural correction would have been to omit the *t*, and if x'Z have been guilty of emending, it is strange that neither of them took the simpler method.

Now assume that the reading of Ω was *ponerent*.



It is now necessary to suppose only E (*i.e.*, AD) and C absolutely wrong; Z on the other hand (*i.e.*, $\alpha\beta\gamma\epsilon$) maintains the genuine reading, and x' is either an emendation or the result of a contamination from the Z group. Or again, it may well be that X read *ponerent*, and that E and C fell into the same species of error in omitting *n*, as they have done for instance in Aug. 21 (46, 29), where they agree in giving *abim* as against BZ. On the whole there does not seem to be any good reason why *ponerent*

should not, as far as Ms. evidence is concerned, be entitled rather more than *ponere et* to be regarded as the reading of Ω .

Examining now the reading *ponerent* from the syntactical point of view we shall find sufficient justification for retaining it. Of course in the very great majority of Suetonian instances *iubeo* takes the normal construction of the classical period, the accusative and the infinitive, yet there are two undisputed places where it is construed with a dependent subjunctive, the one Tib. 22, *Hunc tribunus militum custos appositus cecidit, lectis codicillis quibus ut id faceret iubebatur*, the other Vitell. 14, *Exacerbatus quod post edictum suum quo iubebat intra Kal. Oct. urbe Italiaque mathematici excederent, statim libellus propositus est*, etc.

The first of these bears directly on the passage under consideration; it is deducible only from a sentence which employs *iubeo* in the active, thus:

lectis codicillis qui eum iusserunt ut id faceret.

If therefore Suetonius does not happen to supply any second example of *iubeo* with an accusative preceding and a subjunctive following, he at least furnishes an instance from which the construction to be justified is a clear inference. The second citation, Vitell. 14, is of value as showing indifference in the employment or omission of the conjunction in noun clauses. Fortunately then from this somewhat meagre material the grammatical correctness of *nuntiantis legatos...iussit...ponerent* is absolutely assured, and any change made upon the ground of syntactical difficulty is purely gratuitous.

VII.

(1) Tit. 2 (236, 14). *Erant autem adeo familiares ut de potione qua Britannicus hausta perit, Titus quoque iuxta cubans gustasse credatur gravique morbo adflictatus diu.*

(3) Oudendorp suggested the loss of *sit* after *diu*.

It is strange that this passage should have escaped all criticism except what is implied in Oudendorp's suggestion. Can it be that Titus was believed to have tasted of the fatal draught and to have been afflicted for a long time with a severe illness?

Surely there is an improper association of ideas here set up; the first item (*gustasse*) may well have been purely a matter of belief, but the second (*graviq̄ue morbo* etc.), not being sudden or momentary, was a point of ascertainable information. The belief expressed in *gustasse credatur* evidently depended upon the certain fact in the possession of the people, viz, *morbo diu adflctatus*; he was believed to have partaken of the fatal draught *because* he was long visited with illness.

It appears then that *-que* is unsatisfactory when considered as a connective of *gustasse* and *adflctatus (esse)*; the only other relationship that could be set up is *iuxta cubans...graviq̄ue...adflctatus*, where each of the participles advances a reason for *credatur*, but against this view the word-order raises an objection. Both participles connected by *-que* might have stood on *either* side of *gustasse credatur*; when they are separated so that one falls on each side, the *-que* is not only unnecessary but is from the point of view of style an actual blemish of a rather gross character. *-Que* should then be regarded as an interpolation.¹⁶

VIII.

(1) Tit. 8 (238, 37). *Natura autem benevolentissimus, cum ex instituto Tiberi omnes dehinc Caesares beneficia a superioribus concessa principibus aliter * * * non haberent, quam si eadem isdem et ipsi dedissent, primus praeterita omnia uno confirmavit edicto, nec a se peti passus est.*

(3) Egnatius supplied *rata*, which Duker, Oudendorp, Burmann approved.

It has been unanimously assumed by editors and critics that the gap in the sense occurs after *aliter*; it is possible however that the fault lies elsewhere. I suspect that the original text stood thus:

¹⁶ Very analogous is the case in Claud. 1 (148, 4), where Polak rejects the *-que*: *Fuisse autem creditur non minus gloriosi quam civilis animi, nam ex hoste super victorias opima quoque spolia captasse summoque saepius discrimine duces Germanorum tota acie insectatus.*

It is an interesting circumstance that in both cases *quoque* occurs so near the suspected conjunction. I believe that *-que* should be secluded in the following passages also: Domit. 12 (248, 37), where a lacuna would be disposed of, and Domit. 15 (250, 36).

omnes dehinc Caesares beneficia a superioribus concessa <a se concessa> aliter non habent quam etc.

At some early point in the Ms. tradition the repetition of the word *concessa* gave rise to an easy error; the scribe in returning to his copy upon completing the first *concessa* resumed after the second, thus losing the words *<a se concessa>* entirely. The text now stood in this form:

omnes dehinc Caesares beneficia a superioribus concessa aliter non habent quam etc.

Some reviser, finding *superioribus* in the sense of "predecessors" difficult upon his first reading, added *principibus* as a gloss upon reaching the end of the phrase *a superioribus concessa*; eventually it crept into the text proper and was so copied in P.

It would also be possible to regard *principibus* as part of the original text standing in apposition to *<se>*, the meaning being, "all the Caesars thereafter declined to recognize the favors conferred by their predecessors as granted by themselves in their capacity of principes unless etc."

IX.

(1) Tit. 8 (239, 30). *Urbis incendio nihil publice perisse testatus, cuncta praetoriorum suorum ornamenta operibus ac templis destinavit.*

(2) X: *nihil publice nisi perisse testatus.*

Z. *nihil nisi sibi perisse testatus publice.*

The deteriores omit *nisi*.

(3) Roth as above; Preud'homme prints *nisi* in his text in brackets. Baumgarten-Crusius read *nihil nisi sibi publice perisse testatus*; this had long before been given by Egnatius in the Aldines of 1516 and 1519.

Something may possibly be achieved for the passage by a careful comparison of the readings of X and Z. The variation in the placing of *publice* is a point at once conspicuous; perhaps the form of P was as follows:

nihil

publice

nisi sibi perisse testatus

with *publice*, originally omitted, added later in the right-hand

margin, but in such a position as to have been copied after *nihil* by the scribe of X and after *testatus* by the scribe of Z. The accidental omission of *sibi* by the copyist of X was a mistake not shared by the scribe of Z. This conjecture involves the assumption that the length of the line of P was 23 letters (*nisi... testatus*), and this, interestingly enough, is the conclusion also reached by M. Preud'homme on other evidence.¹⁷

Apparently then the reading of Ω was

nihil publice nisi sibi perisse testatus,

a form remarkably like the Aldine lection of Egnatius, differing only in the placing of the word *publicè*. The question will now be raised; what is the meaning of these words so read and arranged? Baumgarten-Crusius's explanation of the Aldine will serve for answer. Under ordinary circumstances and under ordinary emperors the restoration of the destroyed state-buildings¹⁸ would inevitably involve extra tax-levies on the unfortunate citizens already in desperation over private losses. But Titus, the munificent, the "delight and darling of the human race," hastens to restore the dejected spirits of the Romans by assuring them that there will be no demand upon *them* for the rebuilding of the ruined edifices, as he himself will shoulder the entire burden. The expression is then to be rendered, "nothing had perished in a public way save only so far as he was concerned," and this interpretation is justified by the statement immediately following, where we are told how he stripped his palaces and applied the wealth thus obtained *operibus ac templis*.

X.

(1) Domit. 1 (241, 26). *Mane Isiaci celatus habitu interque sacrificulos vanae superstitionis cum se trans Tiberim ad condiscipuli sui matrem comite uno contulisset, ita latuit ut...deprehendi non potuerit.*

(2) P had *variae*, approved by Turnebus, Adv. xxii 16. The *deteriores* and Edd. Rom. 1 and 2 with Ed. Ven. 1 give *vanae*, and so all the editors including Roth and Preud'homme.

(3) *Phariae*: Jac. Gronovius.

¹⁷ See T. E. 83-84; Suetonius, praef. v.

¹⁸ For the long list see Dio Cass. 66, 24.

Were the existing conditions reversed so that VANAE were the reading of P and VARIAE the presumable reading of Ω , the alteration from an original VARIAE to a later VANAE could be understood, as a poorly formed R followed by an I might in rustic capitals possibly be mistaken for an N; but the process of evolution from a capital N, which is usually on account of its straight lines a strongly formed letter, to RI, is not quite so easily grasped.

The internal evidence may now be examined; this will deal with (a) the usage of the word *varius* as a singular adjective in Suetonius, (b) the general sense of the passage.

(a) *Varius* as a singular adjective appears in Suetonius with the following values:

A—With *genus* to denote “many kinds,” “many sorts.” So in Jul. 39, 81, Aug. 85, Calig. 18, 38, Vitell. 14, Domit. 19, Rhet. 6.

B—With miscellaneous abstracts to denote “various,” “many-formed,” “many-sided,” as follows:

1. *Animus*: Claud. 16, “changeable.”

2. *Caedes*: Vesp. 9, “repeated.”

3. *Causa*: Tib. 8, “different.”

4. *Doctrina*: Gram. 10, “many-sided” (joined with *multiplex*).

5. *Eruditio*: Aug. 89, Gram. 6, “manifold, diverse.”

6. *Fama*: Jul. 79, “persistent.”

7. *Fraus*: Tib. 54, “of one kind and another.”

8. *Modus*: Rhet. 1 med., “diverse.”

9. *Usus*: Gram. 2 fin., “many-sided.”

Of the examples in the above list Nos. 4, 5, and 9 bear most directly on the point at issue. If learning and erudition may be many-sided,—observe the parallel *multiplex* in No. 4,—it is not assuming too much to claim that a *superstitio* may likewise have its diverse aspects, particularly when it is an oriental belief to which reference is made. “The polytheist,” writes Gibbon in his chapter on Mahomet, “is oppressed and distracted by the variety of superstition.”

(b) As for the general sense of the passage, *variae* is quite coherent with the context when considered as indicating another feature contributing towards Domitian’s escape. He was in the

first place clad in the garb of a priest of Isis, and in the second he made his way across the Tiber in the midst of the throng of sacrificial attendants connected with a *varia superstitio*, which by reason of the very diversity demanded the presence in the ritual it followed of a great number of priests, sub-priests, and acolytes.¹⁹ Domitian then is represented as availing himself of those two well-established artifices of the fugitive from either just law or oppressive violence, *viz*, disguise of the person, and disappearance into some large body of people where search is difficult. This explanation seems reasonable.

Those who read and defend *vanae* will say of course that it adds another circumstance to the humiliations experienced by Domitian at this time; it will be urged also that the epithet *vana* is in clear accord with the Roman attitude toward the greater number at any rate of the religions of the East, an attitude made clear enough to the reader of Suetonius by such passages as Aug. 93, Tib. 36, and Otho 12. But these arguments are at least balanced by the evidence which has been assembled on behalf of *variae*, and the burden of proof, as far as the Mss. are concerned, rests upon the champions of *vanae*.

XI.

(1) Domit. 3 (242, 36). *Deinde uxorem Domitiam ex qua in secundo suo consulatu filium tulerat * * * alteroque anno consulavit Augustam; eandem, Paridis histrionis amore deperditam, repudiavit.*

(2) *consulatu filium // // // vit* (in marg.: *deest aliquid*): A
consulatus filium et: C βγϵ
consulatu filium et: α
consulaverat ut: x'

(3) Emendations and readjustments of the passage abound:
a.—Lipsius: *Deinde uxorem . . . tulerat, alteroque anno a consulatu filiam, Augustam eandem repudiavit.*

b.—Graevius: *Deinde uxorem . . . tulerat, alteroque anno ab hoc consulatu filiam etc.*

¹⁹ Cf. the *sacerdotes primi*, *sacerdotes secundo loco*, and *consacerdotes* in the worship of the Magna Mater, C. I. L. ix 1538, 1540, 1541.

c.—Ernesti: *Deinde uxorem Domitiam ex qua in secundo consulatu filium tulerat, alteroque anno suo consulaverat Augustam etc.*

d.—Oudendorp: *Deinde uxorem Domitiam ex qua in secundo suo consulatu filiam tulerat alteroque anno filium, ac consalutaverat etc.*

This is approved substantially by Wolf and Baumgarten-Crusius.

e.—Roth as given above, and so Preud'homme.

f.—Mommsen: *alterumque <imperii altero> anno etc.*

g.—Ihm: *anno <principatus (vel <quam imperium adeptus est) amisit> etc.*

The variety of the emendations given above is a sufficient index of the desperate condition of the passage, for which it seems scarcely possible to offer any remedy which will be generally satisfactory. However, the reading of P is best gathered from A; a I take to approximate very closely to P, the *et* being an attempt to better the hopeless *vit*, while $\beta\gamma\epsilon$ and C represent the same reading as a with a further attempt at improvement, viz, the making of *consulatu* a dependent genitive to *anno*. The reading of x' is obviously the emendation of a later hand.

P then perhaps read

Deinde uxorem Domitiam ex qua in secundo suo consulatu filium tulerat alteroque anno consulatu filium vit Augustam etc. Now in view of the mention of the title *Augustam* and the common use of the verb *consaluto* in connection with names of honor and distinction,²⁰ it is to be assumed as certain that *consulatu*. . . *vit* is nothing but the dismembered verb-form *consalutavit*. How then did the word *filium* obtrude itself between these two parts? Probably because *consaluta* concluded one line of Ω and *vit* began the next; *filium* was a marginal word, in reality belonging to the line above that in which *consaluta* stood, thus:

FILIVM

CONSALVTA

VITAVGVSTAM etc.

This was transcribed *consulatu filium vit etc.*, the change from

²⁰ Cf. Aug. 58, Tit. 5, Domit. 1.

consulata to *consulatu* being all the easier because of the obstruction of the marginal word. The appearance of Ω then was perhaps

1 CONSVLATVFILIVMTVLERAT

2 ALTEROQ.ANNO

FILIVM

3 CONSALVTA

4 VITAVGVSTAM etc.

The question now is: What completed the second line and began the third, and why were these parts of successive lines lost? The answer must of course be purely conjectural, but it is at least plausible that below ANNO of line 2 the same form occurred again, and that the copyist of P in returning to his original proceeded from the second ANNO rather than from the first, an hypothesis supported by the fact that he likewise copied the marginal FILIVM with line 3 rather than line 2, as if he had completely lost sight of the conclusion of 2. As to the remainder of the lacuna thus caused, PRINCIPATVS easily suggests itself for the conclusion of line 2 as being the proper defining term for *alteroque anno*. Now if the cause assigned above for the origin of the lacuna be correct, *anno* preceded *consulavit*; what limiting words to *anno* opened the third line? Here we have two circumstances to guide us, (1) the fact that the Eusebian Chronicle places the conferring of this honor upon Domitia in the second year of Domitian's principate;²¹ (2) that this second year has already been mentioned in the words *alteroque anno* <*principatus*>; in view of these *eodem illo* would be a proper limitation upon *anno*.

We have now reconstructed Ω in this form,

Deinde uxorem Domitiam ex qua in secundo suo consulatu filium tulerat alteroque anno <*principatus filium, eodem illo anno*> *consulavit Augustam etc.*

in which the repetition of *filium* is the one disturbing feature to be explained. It is probable that this already corrupt passage is still further corrupted in the first *filium*, where for FILIVM

²¹ See Ernesti's excursus ad loc. in Fr. A. Wolf's ed. (1802).

should be read *FILIAM, filiam*. The passage as finally emended stands then

Deinde uxorem Domitiam ex qua in secundo suo consulatu filiam tulerat alteroque anno <principatus filium, eodem illo anno> consalutavit Augustam; eandem etc.

It will be asked: What is the evidence regarding the children of Domitian? It is certainly of a very slight character, consisting (1) of a coin, bearing on one side the figure of a child seated upon a sphere and surrounded by stars with the legend *F. DIVVS CAESAR IMP. DOMITIANI*, and on the reverse a seated figure with right hand resting upon a smaller figure's head, the legend being *PIETAS AVGVST*;²² (2) of two epigrams of Martial, IV 3 and VI 3. The last mentioned (VI 3) has not been satisfactorily explained, and will be of no value to us here. The other refers to the falling of snow during the celebration of the games in the year 88, and the poet suggests that the snow-storm is a jest of the young Caesar, now deified, at his father's expense; this is quite of a piece with the inference to be made from the coin described above. This much then is certain, that Domitian in 88 had lost a son who had been accorded deification; from the exceedingly small amount of information we have regarding him it may be gathered that he died very young, and this will agree excellently with the reading *alteroque anno <principatus filium>*. The second year of Domitian's reign begins with the 13th Sept. 82; at the very most then the boy would not have been more than five or six at the time of his death. As for the *filiam*, everything is of course conjecture; that we know nothing of her is no argument against the probability of the reading, as she was born during the years of her father's ignominious retirement and very probably died in infancy.

It should be noted in behalf of the reading proposed that it brings the birth of a son and the conferring of the title of Augusta upon the mother in the same year, doubtless a case of cause and effect in view of the great importance attached by dynasties to the continuation of the male line.

In fine, this reading appears to adjust itself better to (1) our

²² In the Burmann Suetonius (Amsterdam, 1736), vol. II, Table of Coins, No. 32, fig. 3.

mutilated Ms. evidence, (2) the usual theories of probable error in the copying of Mss., (3) such knowledge as we have from other sources regarding Domitian's domestic affairs, than any which has been offered up to this time.

XII.

(1) Domit. 4 (244, 6). *Congiarium populo nummorum trecentorum ter dedit, atque inter spectacula muneris largissimum epulum. Septimontiali sacro quidem senatui equitique panariis, plebei sportellis cum obsonio distributis, initium vescendi primus fecit.*

(2) P: *sacrorum quidem* etc. *Sacro quidem* is found only in some of the deteriores; others of this class have *sacrorum quidem die*.

(3) a.—Torrentius: *septimontiali sacro quondam*.

b.—Politian: *septimontiali sacro senatui quidem*, accepted by Baumgarten-Crusius.

c.—Oudendorp: *septimontiali sacro primoque die*, and so very similarly Ernesti: *septimontiali sacro, primo quidem die* etc.

d.—Jac. Gronovius: *septimontiali sacro, cum quidem* etc.

It is stated in this passage that Domitian entertained a vast throng of spectators at an *epulum* during the progress of a *munus gladiatorium*, a singular statement which appears to call for some explanation. Roth's text however ignores this fact; he chooses rather to consider *inter... (dedit)* and *septimontiali... fecit* as independent and isolated statements, though *septimontiali* etc. following certainly looks like an attempt to shed further light upon *inter spectacula muneris largissimum epulum*. Again, Roth's text suggests no reason for the intrusion of the final syllable in *sacrorum*; yet P is surely to be followed as closely as possible.

The demands of the sense of the passage as suggested above and of loyalty to P, the archetype, seem on the other hand to be adequately met by the emendation of Jac. Gronovius. From SACROCVVM to SACRORVM is an easy passage; if the error does not explain itself through resemblance in the shape of the letters, there is the immediately preceding R to suggest insensibly

to the copyist's mind the slip which he may be presumed to have made here. It cannot be said at any rate that there is any inherent improbability in the emendation from the palaeographic point of view.

Turning now to the sense of the passage, we find at once that Gronovius's reading not only avoids the objections just offered to Roth's text, but, by making *cum . . . fecit* a dependent part of the sentence *congiarium . . . epulum septimontiali sacro* gives that more detailed explanation of *inter spectacula . . . epulum* which it is reasonable to expect.

Is there any evidence in Suetonius for *cum quidem* followed by the indicative as the medium of introducing a further detail of description for an action already stated in the leading clause? Jul. 50 (med.) seems to meet the conditions:

Sed ante alias dilexit Marci Bruti matrem Serviliam cui . . . bello civili super alias donationes amplissima praedia ex auctio-nibus hastae minimo addixit, cum quidem, plerisque vilitatem admirantibus, facetissime Cicero, Quo melius, inquit, emptum sciatis, Tertia deducta.

Here the leading statement, so far as the *cum quidem* clause is concerned, is *amplissima praedia minimo addixit*; the whole idea introduced by *cum quidem* forms the commentary on *minimo*. In the same way in the passage under discussion the leading statement is *epulum inter spectacula dedit*; the *cum quidem* clause is the commentary on *inter spectacula*. Observe too the similarity of grammatical structure in the two passages.

In view of (1) the Ms. suggestion, (2) the logic of the circumstances dealt with, (3) the fact that Suetonius has in at least one other passage employed *cum quidem* in a manner parallel to that called for by the suggested reading, it would appear that the reading of Gronovius might reasonably be accepted.

XIII.

(1) Domit. 14 (250, 3-4).

Κἄν με φάγῃς ἐπὶ ῥίζαν, ὄμως ἔτι καρποφορήσω
Ὅσσον ἐπισπείσαι σοι, τράγε, θυομένῳ.

(2) According to Preud'homme P exhibited this form:

ΚΛΙΜΗΦΛΓΗCΕΤΡΙΞΑΝΟΜΟC
 CΕΠΙΚΑΡΠΟΦΟΡΕCCHCOCCON
 ΕΠΙCΠΕΙCΕCCOΙΚΑΡΘΕΟΥ
 ΛΟΜΕΝΩ

(3) Politian:

Κῆν με φάγγηc ἐπὶ ῥίζαν, ὄμως ἔτι καρποφορήσω

Ὅσσον ἐπισπείσαι Καίσαρι θυομένηψ.

Bentley anticipated the reading as given in Roth.

There is one point here that seems to merit some further investigation; it is not easy to see just what ground COΙΚΑΡΘΕ gives for reading σοί, τράγε, acceptable though the word τράγε may be from the standpoint of the general meaning. Possibly then some word other than τράγε is hidden in ΚΑΡΘΕ of P.

I venture the suggestion that the word is κάπρε; thus the latter half of line 2 in uncials would stand in the original—COΙΚΑΠΡΕΘΥΟΜΕΝΩΙ. The first step in the corruption of κάπρε was the loss of Π²³; the next was the development, under the influence for confusion exerted by ΕΘ of a Θ after the Ρ and before the Ε. Thus it seems possible to establish a palaeographical connection between κάπρε and the corrupt ΚΑΡΘΕ at least less remote than any which could be devised to relate τράγε and ΚΑΡΘΕ.

Exception will be taken on the score that the verses as written by Euenus contain τράγε; so too Ovid's obviously borrowed lines (Fasti I 357-8)

Rode, caper, vitem; tamen huic, cum stabis ad aram,

In tua quod spargi cornua possit, erit

contain *caper*, the equivalent of τράγε. But Suetonius may have misquoted, particularly in a place where the Greek τράγε would suggest the Latin *caper* with a natural reflex again to the Greek κάπρος, or an alteration in the original may have been made designedly by those who scattered abroad the defamatory 'libelli,' to emphasize some point the meaning of which is now obscure. There is no finality in the appeal to the Euenian original; indeed the very essence of a successful lampoon lies often in the employ-

²³ Observe by reference to the form of the text in P an accident of this sort which has befallen the preposition ἐπί before ῥίζαν.

ment of a well-known verse or couplet with the alteration of a single word or phrase.

It may perhaps be fairly asked whether *κάπρε* fits the sense of the passage, for of course, if it does not, the theory of a possible substitution of *κάπρε* for *τράγε* fails utterly. The distich is evidently a threat addressed by the vine to its would-be destroyer; is the boar known as a matter of fact to damage the vine, and especially by assailing it at the root? In the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s. v. Boar, these words occur relating to the habits of the animal: "Its food is chiefly of a *vegetable* nature, consisting of *roots* which it ploughs up by means of its broad, muscular snout." This refers specifically to attacks by the boar upon the roots of plants; as for its hostility to the vine we have the testimony of Psalm LXXX:

"Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt, thou hast cast out the heathen and planted it. . . . She sent out her boughs unto the sea and her branches unto the river. Why hast thou then broken down her hedges so that all they which pass by do pluck her? *The boar out of the wood doth waste* it and the wild beast of the field doth devour it." Compare too Ovid *Metam.* VIII 294. It does not seem to admit of doubt then that the *κάπρος* was quite as inimical to the vine as the *τράγος* and in much the same way.

For mention of the boar as an animal for sacrifice cf. *Iliad* xix 196-7

Ταλθύβιος δέ μοι ὄκα κατὰ στρατὸν εὐρὴν Ἀχαιῶν
κάπρον ἔτοιμασάτω, ταμέειν Δί τ' Ἑλίφ τε.

Again, Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 202-4,

Καταθείσα ταύτην προσλαβοῦ μοι τοῦ κάπρου.
δέσποινα Πειθοῖ καὶ κύλιξ φιλοτησία,
τὰ σφάγια δέξαι ταῖς γυναιξίν εὐμενής.

To recapitulate, (1) *κάπρε* is nearer the mutilated Ms. reading than is *τράγε*, (2) the habits of the boar in relation to the vine are such that *κάπρε* could be substituted for *τράγε* without any violence to the sense, (3) it is possible that the change from an original *τράγε* to *κάπρε* is due to misquotation, or is even perhaps an intentional alteration.

XIV.

(1) Domit. 20 (253, 6). *Sermonis tamen nec inelegantis, dictorum interdum etiam notabilium, Vellem, inquit, tam formosus esse quam Maetius sibi videtur; et cuiusdam caput, varietate capilli subrutilum et incanum, perfusam nivem mulso dixit; condicionem principum miserrimam aiebat quibus de coniuratione comperta non crederetur nisi occisis.*

(3) In the Stephanus ed. (1543) *condicionem* etc. is made to begin a new paragraph; so too in the edition of Fr. A. Wolf (1802). Roth, who follows the paragraphing of A,²⁴ kept these words where they appear in his text, but, suspecting a lacuna, suggested *dixit et condicionem*. The conjunction was not however inserted in the text, nor has Preud'homme included it in his.

It is obvious from the sense that the words *condicionem... occisis* do not belong with what follows, but we have besides the direct evidence of A, the paragraphing of which Roth judged to be inherited from some very ancient source. It would seem then from all considerations that *condicionem... occisis* belongs among the *dicta notabilia*, and, such being the case, Roth's hypothesis of a missing conjunction between *dixit* and *condicionem* appears highly probable, as otherwise *condicionem... occisis* hangs strangely disconnected from the preceding clause.

Palaeographically the *et* suggested by Roth commends itself: after the *it* of *dixit* the *et* would, especially in rustic capitals, be easily lost. There may be some interest however in examining the internal evidence on the point for the purpose of ascertaining how far it corroborates Roth's view.

(a) The conjunction *et* occurs as the introductory word for the last element in groups of three 76 times in Suetonius; of these 76 instances only those have been considered in which there occurs a series of principal verbs parallel to the *inquit... dixit... aiebat* of the passage under discussion, 23 in number. The subjoined statement shows exactly the way in which elements I and II are introduced in these 23 cases, element III being always introduced by *et*.

²⁴ Introd. xii.

ELEMENT I		ELEMENT II		
No conjunction	<i>Et</i>	<i>Et</i>	<i>-Que</i>	<i>Atque</i>
Jul. 55, Aug. 18	Jul. 31, 71	Jul. 31	Jul. 55, 71	Vit. 17
Calig. 14, Claud.	Aug. 32, Tib. 25,	Aug. 32	Aug. 18, Calig. 14	
21, 45, Ne. 19, 22,	Claud. 46, Otho	Tib. 25	Claud. 21, 45	
47, Galb. 4, Otho	11 (bis)	Claud. 46	Ne. 19, 22, 47	
11 (bis), Vit. 12,			Galb. 4, Otho 11	
17, Vesp. 14, Tit.			(bis), Vit. 12	
4, Domit. 4, Gr. 8,			Vesp. 14, Tit. 4	
17			Domit. 4, Gr. 8, 17	

This table reveals the curious fact that in every case where *et* as the introductory word of element III is preceded by another *et* serving in the same capacity for element II, there is also a third *et* found introducing element I. This argument is of course not conclusive against Roth's reading, but it indicates at least one objection to it.

(b) The conjunction *ac* occurs as the introductory word for the last element in groups of three 52 times in Suetonius; of these 52 instances only 19 serve in this discussion in view of the restriction explained above. The subjoined statement shows exactly the way in which elements I and II are introduced in these 19 cases, element III being always preceded by *ac*.

ELEMENT I		ELEMENT II			
No conjunction	<i>Et</i>	<i>Et</i>	<i>-Que</i>	<i>Ac</i>	<i>Item</i>
Jul. 19, Aug. 38,	Jul. 79	Jul. 79	Jul. 19, Aug. 38,	Claud. 18	Vit. 15
100, Tib. 17, 23,	Jul. 81	Jul. 81	100, Tib. 17, 23,		
Calig. 15, Claud.	Aug. 17 fin.	Aug. 17	Calig. 15, Claud.		
18, 36, 42, Vit.	Aug. 24	Aug. 24	36, Domit. 2, 16,		
15, Domit. 2, 16,	Aug. 60	Aug. 60	Gram. 2, Rhet. 6		
Gram. 2, Rhet. 6		Claud. 42			

From this table it is ascertained that, when element III is introduced by *ac* and element I has no introductory word, there is at least one instance where *et* is the conjunction of the second member, *viz.* Claud. 42. This passage is extraordinarily like the one under consideration as its citation in full shows.

Cuidam barbaro Graece ac Latine disserenti, Cum utroque, inquit, sermone nostro sis paratus; et in commendanda patribus conscriptis Achaia, gratam sibi provinciam ait communium studiorum commercio; ac saepe in senatu legatis perpetua oratione respondit.

This sentence is a triple example of the statement which precedes it, *Nec minore cura Graeca studia secutus est, amorem praestantiamque linguae occasione omni professus*, and in precisely the same way the passage in the Domitian from *Vellem, inquit to occisis* is a three-fold demonstration of the words directly before it, *Sermonis tamen nec inelegantis dictorum interdum etiam notabilium*.

(c) The conjunction *-que* occurs as the introductory word for the third element in groups of three 67 times in Suetonius; under the same limitations as were prescribed for *et* and *ac*, of these 67 there are 26 which bear on the present passage. A table follows:

ELEMENT I		ELEMENT II		
No conjunction	<i>Et</i>	<i>Et</i>	<i>Ac, atque</i>	<i>-Que</i>
Jul. 35, Aug. 31, 52,	Aug. 21	Aug. 21	Jul. 35, Aug. 31, 52, Ne. 41	
100, Tib. 4, Calig. 34,	Tib. 14	Tib. 14	100, Tib. 4, Calig. Ne. 42	
46, 47, Claud. 17, Ne.	Tib. 25	Tib. 25	34, 47, Claud. 17,	
6, 21 (bis), 41, 42, 48,	Tib. 33	Tib. 33	Ne. 6, 21 (2), Otho	
Vit. 11, Vesp. 5 (bis)	Oth. 12	Calig. 46	12, Vit. 11, Vesp. 5	
Vesp. 8, Domit. 21	Tit. 6	Ne. 21 (1)	(bis), 8, Domit. 21	
		Ne. 48		
		Tit. 6		

This statement shows three cases, Calig. 46, Ne. 21 (1), Ne. 48, in which element I lacks a conjunction, element II is introduced by *et*, and element III shows *-que*. From a merely numerical point of view therefore the best showing for the third place in a series beginning —, *et*, is made by *-que*, but as a matter of fact no one of the three examples developed under it shows any resemblance to the passage in the Domitian.

In conclusion it may be observed that the series —, *et*, *et*, develops no internal evidence in its favor, and that as between the series —, *et*, *ac*, and —, *et*, *-que*, the greater mass of evidence is for the latter. When however the quality of the evidence is taken into consideration, it may fairly be said that the series —, *et*, *ac*, is easily sustained over —, *et*, *-que*, and one may feel some confidence on the basis of the parallel in Claud. 42 in remedying the asyndeton of the sentence by inserting *ac* between *dixit* and *condicionem*. The doubled *c* arising by the presence of *ac* in the text before *condicionem* would also entail a possibility of error in the process of copying.

CICERO'S KNOWLEDGE OF
LUCRETIUS'S POEM

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL.

The perfunctory remark in Cicero's letter to his brother Quintus (ad Quintum Fratrem II, 9, 3) "Lucretii poemata ut scribis ita sunt multis luminibus ingenii multae tamen artis," and the statement by St. Jerome in his continuation of Eusebius's Chronicle for the year of Abraham 1922, "Titus Lucretius—cum aliquot libros—conscribisset quos Cicero emendavit," have for obvious reasons been the subject of inquiry as to whether there is any further evidence of Cicero's acquaintance with the poem. Many scholars have touched upon the question, as Behncke;¹ Tyrrell,² who says that Cicero's philosophical works undoubtedly show acquaintance with the *De Rerum Natura*; Weissenfels,³ who maintained that there is not the least trace in the poem of the correcting hand of Cicero; Castellani,⁴ who thought it impossible that Cicero could have published a work of a philosophical system to which he was so bitterly opposed; Krische,⁵ who remarked that Cicero from reading Lucretius was plainly indebted to a greater degree than had been previously recognized. Munro in his notes to Lucr. 2, 1092, 3, 983, 6, 396, declared that Cicero's works afford many proofs that he was familiar with the language of the poem; Woltjer⁶ maintained that Cicero

¹ *De Cicerone philosophiae existimatore et iudice.*

² *Cicero's Correspondence*, Vol. 2, p. 106.

³ *WKP* 13, 149.

⁴ *Qua ratione traditum sit MTC Lucretii carmen emendatorem fuisse*, p. 9.

⁵ *Theologischer Lehre der Griechischen Denker*, p. 118.

⁶ *Lucretii philosophia cum fontibus comparata*, p. 7.

vix aut numquam Lucretii opus legisse, aut si legit, ne imbutum quidem esse iis quae legit; Giussani in his edition of Lucretius Vol. 1, p. xvii, thought the dependence of Cicero highly uncertain; and Hirzel⁷ says that if Krische thought there were visible evidence of Lucretius in Cicero's *De Deorum Natura* I, he himself was blind. In order to come to an independent opinion in this much debated question I have lately read the entire works of Cicero with close comparison of Lucretius's poem.

To begin, there is an antecedent improbability in Cicero's use of Lucretius's poem. His contempt for the school and for its doctrines was extreme, as may be seen from such passages as *Fin.* 2, 49; *Tusc.* 1, 48, 55; 2, 7; 5, 73; *ND.* 2, 46; *Fato* 38; *Div.* 1, 62; *Off.* 3, 39; *Fam.* 13, 1, 4. From time to time he names his authorities for Epicureanism: Epicurus himself in *Piso* 59, *Fin.* 2, 99, *Off.* 3, 117; Timagoras in *Acad.* 2, 80; Zeno in *Fin.* 1, 16, *Tusc.* 3, 38; Phaedrus in *ND.* 1, 93, *Fin.* 1, 16; and he was familiar with Catus Insuber in *Fam.* 15, 16, 1-2. Furthermore, his contempt for Latin writers of the Epicurean system was so great that in *Tusc.* 2, 7 he says that he does not despise the Latin Epicureans because he has never read their works, and only their own sectaries read the stuff. We shall not be justified in inferring a knowledge of Lucretius unless the parallels in Cicero are so convincing that no other conclusion is possible.

De**Inventione 2**

The *De Inventione* was written long before the poem was published, and in the second section of that treatise there is a sketch of primeval society that has some correspondence with *Lucre.* 5, 925-1010, and in

Pro Sestio
91

Pro Sestio 91 there is the same thought. Aside from the fact that Lucretius's account probably goes back to Euphorion, Dicaearchus, or Diodorus Siculus, the precedence in time of the *De Inventione* precludes any indebtedness. There is no other parallel in the Rhetorical

Works**Orations****Piso 59**

works. In the Orations there is no trace whatever of acquaintance. Only in *Piso* 59 is a reference to the indifference of the Epicurean gods, corresponding to 2, 650 sq., but the sentiment had become trite from *Epic. Sent.* 1.

⁷ *Untersuchungen zu Ciceros Philosophische Schriften*, I, 9.

Philosophical Works

In the philosophical works we should expect, if anywhere, to find traces of Cicero's acquaintance. Yet here it must be remembered that common Epicurean doctrines were a matter of public knowledge among Cicero's contemporaries, that Cicero had become acquainted with the leading principles of the Epicurean philosophy both from the lectures of Zeno and Phaedrus (*Fin.* 1, 16) and also from the controversial work of the Stoics and Academics. We therefore should infer Lucretius's poem as a source only when other

Academica

sources are improbable. In the *Academica* Cicero touches here and there on questions that Lucretius also discusses. Thus in 1, 27 he speaks of the indivisibility of matter (1, 748) and in 2, 19, 79, 80, 81, 82 we have the stock illustrations of the tower, the bent oar, dove's neck, double vision, ship's movement, size of sun (4, 387, 599, 477, 465; 5, 564). These illustrations were usual among the ancient physicists; they are found in various writers of different schools both before and after Cicero's time—Sextus Empiricus, Seneca, Plutarch, Alexander Aphrodisias, Aristotle; and some of them can be found in the school books of this year of grace. In *Acad.* 2, 88 Ennius saw Homer's shade (1, 124) and in 2, 120 he touches on the controversy about the beneficent creation of vipers (5, 195 sq.), a theodicy discussed by Seneca, Pliny, Lactantius, and Epictetus. In 2, 121 is a remarkable array of adjectives describing the shape of the atoms—*exasperis, levibus, hamatis, uncinatisque corporibus concreta*—and at first sight these might seem to be taken from Lucretius's vocabulary (2, 394, 402, 404), but *uncinatis* is inadmissible in the hexameter and probably both Lucretius and Cicero are translating from the Greek. In 2, 105 *mare albescit* and in *Lucr.* 2, 767 the sea *vertitur in canos fluctus*—a mere coincidence.

De Finibus

In the *De Finibus* much common ground is covered. In 1, 14 there is a panegyric on Epicurus which

- is no real parallel to the Lucretian laudes Epicuri; and in 1, 49 is the commonplace of ancient ethical philosophers that the fear of death brings about decay of character and even suicide (3, 85, 79, 830 sq., 938).
- 1, 49
- 1, 57 In 1, 57 the simple and plain ethical system of Epicurus is praised (6, 27), a commonplace of the school.
- 1, 60 In 1, 60 Cicero makes death impend like the rock over Tantalus, while Lucretius (3, 979) compares it to superstition. Munro (on 3, 983) says Cicero may well have been thinking of Lucretius here because in *Tusc.* 4, 35 he draws a different moral from some tragic poet. That may well be, but considering the haste with which Cicero wrote these works under the guidance of his Greek authorities, it is not strange that the same illustration should have had different applications.
- 2, 100 In 2, 100 it is plain that a common source may have been expressed in the same Latin words: Cicero—scripsit [Epicurus] in eo libro quem modo nominavi mortem nihil ad nos pertinere etc.; Lucr. 3, 830 nil igitur mors est neque pertinet hilum.
- 2, 102 In 2, 102 Epicurus traversed innumerable worlds as also in Lucr. 1, 74, but in *Tusc.* 5, 114 Cicero says the same thing of Democritus; as usual there was a common Greek source, and with this goes the rhetorical commonplace of Xerxes walking the sea and sailing the land, 2, 112 (3, 1029); cf. Mayor on *Juv.* 10, 173-184.
- 2, 112

**Tusculan
Disputations**

Passing on to the *Tusculan Disputations*, Cicero's superb contempt for all his predecessors in philosophical exposition is most remarkable. In *Tusc.* 1, 5 he says: philosophia iacuit usque ad hanc aetatem nec ullum habuit lumen literarum Latinarum; quae illustranda et excitanda nobis est; and then he continues that he will have to work all the harder because many books in Latin are said to be carelessly written by excellent men but uneducated—meaning of course Catus and Amafinius. It is hard to understand Cicero's silence about Lucretius here; the decade since

Lucretius's death ought to have removed any jealousy. In sections 10 and 11 there are some commonplaces about Hades that have no vital connection with *Lucr.* 3, 978 sq. Munro on 2, 1092 thought *Tusc.* 1, 48 was written with reminiscence of Lucretius. There Cicero wonders at the conduct of some philosophers who lay such stress on physics, and give exultant thanks to Epicurus and worship him as a god because they have been freed by him from fear by day and night; and certainly *Lucr.* 1, 66, 3, 37 sq., 5, 8 have the same thought; but the few fragments of Epicurus's letter to Colotes (Usener, *Epicurea, Fragm.*, 140 sq.) show that the turn of thought was traditional in the school, and that Cicero's strictures were aimed at the school as a whole. In *Tusc.* 1, 52 occurs the comparison of the body to a vase—*Lucr.* 3, 440; 6, 17, and a common simile in other schools. The argument in *Tusc.* 1, 79 that pain implies destruction—*Lucr.* 3, 460—is a mere coincidence. The anticipatory sorrow over the loss of the pleasures of life—*Tusc.* 1, 83—*Lucr.* 3, 898; the equality of non-existence before birth and after death, *Tusc.* 1, 91—*Lucr.* 3, 831; the occupancy and not the ownership of life—*Tusc.* 1, 93—*Lucr.* 3, 971, are all commonplaces of the condolence literature. The reference to modes of sepulture as affecting the body, *Tusc.* 1, 108—*Lucr.* 3, 888 is also a commonplace.

As if to put us on our guard against supposing that he had any opinion or knowledge of Lucretius, in *Tusc.* 2, 7 Cicero publishes a manifesto: there are some so-called philosophers who have written in Latin; but he has no opinion of them because he never reads them, because it is not necessary; and by this he means that a sufficient knowledge of Epicureanism could be gained from Greek sources. In *Tusc.* 3, 56 is the commonplace that nature asks but little—*Lucr.* 2, 20, 17,—that is no more sectarian than our "Man wants but little here below"; and the precept in 4, 75—

- Lucr. 4, 1070, that change is good for many complaints and one love can drive out another, needs no authority and might have occurred to any one. In the opening of the fifth book of the *Tusculans* (5, 5) Cicero gives a beautiful tribute to philosophy as the bestower of peace and the comforter in the presence of human ills; a book where the expression of Stoic ἀπαθεία is very near the Epicurean ἀταξία, but where his contempt for Epicureanism is most outspoken; and if Lucretius, in the prooemia of Books 5 and 3 (5, 9; 3, 37) gives the same praise to Epicurus as the discoverer of philosophy, it is a proof, not that Cicero had knowledge of Lucretius, but that both the new-academic eclectic and the epicurean had the same ultimate object in the conduct of life. In *Tusc.* 5, 97 there is another reference to contentment with a little.
- 5, 5
- 5, 97
- De Natura Deorum**
- 1, 56
- 2, 6
- 2, 127
- Passing to the *De Natura Deorum*, we should expect there, if anywhere, to find Lucretian arguments placed in the mouth of the Epicurean Velleius, and yet I have noted fewer similarities than in the *De Finibus* and the *Tusculans*. In 1, 56 Epicurus is said to have freed his followers from μαντική and Lucr. 1, 102 refers to intimidation by the seers—surely a commonplace of Epicureanism. In 1, 108 Cicero discusses the doctrine of simulacra as affecting sensation, and particularly denies the existence of Chimaeras as Lucretius does in 2, 705. Woltjer³ well insists that Cicero could not have discussed the general subject in the way he did if he had read Lucr. 4, 736, 761, 780; but I fear that in Epicurean doctrine Cicero preferred to be blind. But certainly his discussion is altogether independent of that of Lucretius. In the second book the reference to the existence of fauns in sec. 6—Lucr. 4, 581—proves nothing. The natural means of defense of the lower animals—horns, teeth, flight, hiding—mentioned in 2, 127 correspond to Lucr. 3, 741 sq. and occur also in the *Anacreonta* 24; this was doubtless a familiar bit of natural history.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

- De Divinatione** Next comes the treatise on Divination, and in sections 17, 19, 20 of the first book there is a long quotation from Cicero's *De Consulatu* in which there is much evidence that Lucretius used Cicero; for there is no doubt that the great poet studied closely the great orator's verse, as has been shown by many scholars. Little weight can be attached to caelum discessisse 1, 97—Lucr. 3, 16. Passing to the second book Munro thinks that in sec. 44 where Cicero discusses the cause and effect of lightning he "had Lucretius's lines in his memory" from *RN.* 6, 396 sq. It seems to me rather that there was a common authority—ultimately Epicurus himself. In 2, 49 like Aristophanes, Cicero saw lions and centaurs in the clouds as did Lucretius 4, 136 sq.
- De Fato** In the *De Fato* there is much about declination of the atoms—secs. 18, 21, 46,—and of course Lucretius discusses the question, in 2, 216 sq.; but here, no more than in *Fin.* 1, 18 and *ND.* 1, 69 do I see any evidence of Cicero's acquaintance. In a subject that he did not understand and consequently subjected to such ridicule, it is not probable that he got his information from Lucretius—rather from Carneades through Zeno.
- Cato Maior** In the *Cato Maior* I have noted but one case of similarity—83 *decurso spatio*—Lucr. 3, 1042 *decurso lumine vitae*, that is merely an agreement in a metaphor. There is nothing in the *Laelius*. In the *De Officiis* in 1, 158 Cicero traces the origin of society from mutual need and help; a theorizing like that in Lucr. 5, 1019 and common to the post-Socratic schools. To this may be added the theory of monarchy—2, 41—5, 1109—and the use of cities as strongholds, 2, 73. In 2, 102 there is a quotation from Epicurus's *κύρια δόξαι*. In the letters *ad Familiares* there is little. In *Fam.* 5, 16, 2-4 occur trite consolations about death a sapientissimis viris usurpatae, and also in 5, 21, 4-5, commonplaces like those in Lucr. 3, 820 sq. In 7, 12, 2 he rallies Trebatius on his Epicu-
- 1, 17-20
1, 97
2, 44
2, 49
18, 21, 46
83
1, 158
2, 41
2, 73, 102
Ad Familiares
5, 16, 2-4
5, 21, 4-5

rean principles, and in 9, 25, 2 in his controversies with Epicureans he used the aid of M. Fadius.

Ad Atticum I find nothing whatever in the letters to Atticus, **Fragments** which is somewhat remarkable. In the fragments in Vol. 11 of the Baiter and Kayser edition there is nothing subsequent to the publication of the poem.

Another matter should be considered in this comparison and that is the scope of the treatment by Lucretius and Cicero. There is, after all, not much in common between the two so far as Epicureanism is concerned. Usener in his *Epicurea* gives from Lucretius as the principal source of our knowledge, in the *De Rerum Natura* only 3, 294; 5, 52, 1117, 1127, 1152 and 6, 9; while for Cicero there are the following numerous citations (94 in all): *Orations*, *Piso* 42, 59, 65, 66, 68; *Sest.* 23; *Brutus* 292; *Acad.* 2, 19, 45, 83, 97, 101, 140, 142, 279; *De Finibus* 1, 17, 18, 21, 22, 29-62; 2, 3, 6, 27, 28, 30, 31, 37, 41, 48, 51, 68, 80, 82, 84, 88, 90, 98, 100, 104; 3, 3; 4, 29; 5, 80, 85, 93; *Tusc.* 2, 15, 17, 28, 44; 3, 28, 32, 38, 46-49; 4, 70; 5, 26, 31, 73, 75, 89, 93, 94, 95, 97, 102, 103, 110-117; *De Natura Deorum* 1, 18-23, 43-56, 67, 69, 70, 72, 93, 95, 113; 2, 46, 162; *De Divinatione* 1, 5; 2, 40, 103; *De Fato* 18, 21, 22, 23, 46; *Laelius* 86; *De Officiis* 3, 117; *ad Familiares* 7, 12, 26; *ad Atticum* 5, 2, 4; 14, 20, 5. In this connection it may be noted that Usener in the preface to his *Epicurea* p. lxx sq. comments on Cicero's superficial treatment of philosophical subjects from brief abstracts, and is silent on Lucretius as a possible source.

I have not compared similarities in diction and metaphor in the two authors; as they both wrote in Latin it would be easy enough to find parallels in unimportant phrases, but as for any indication that Cicero was influenced in the slightest degree by Lucretius's poem I find not a scintilla of evidence. Cicero approached the subject from a different point of view and exposed the philosophy in a journalistic, although pleasing, style; his treatment is that of a dilettante to satisfy a mild curiosity in a matter of no vital interest. Lucretius was an enthusiastic preacher of a new gospel, and in this his whole being was absorbed. The two men had little in common in character, in literary sympathy, or in the valuation of life. I doubt very much whether Cicero ever read the poem.

THE CONSPIRACY AT ROME IN 66-65 B.C.

BY

H. C. NUTTING.

The spectacular conspiracy of Catiline in 63-62 B.C. has naturally enough somewhat overshadowed the less conspicuous disturbance of three years before. At first sight, too, the earlier conspiracy seems to afford a somewhat unpromising field of investigation. The mere fact that the movement never culminated in overt act gave excellent opportunity for the birth of conflicting rumors; and as these were circulated in part at least by persons of known prejudice, the problem of detecting the truth may well appear difficult. Closer inspection, however, shows that the contradictions and obscurities of the testimony really concern secondary details mostly, whereas the essentially important features of the conspiracy can be determined with a very satisfactory degree of certainty.

I therefore feel somewhat discontented with the position of Boissier, who holds that the earlier conspiracy was a more or less insignificant and isolated disturbance, and excuses himself from probing into its inner history on the ground that the obscurities in the evidence preclude the possibility of reaching any definite conclusion.¹ And, at the same time, I am inclined to distrust somewhat the customary procedure of the professed historian, who, making wide generalizations and reading backward from later events to the earlier, is apt to put upon an episode such as the earlier conspiracy an interpretation that will fit with or sup-

¹ *La Conjuration de Catilina*, Paris 1905, p. 50 ff.

port some more general theory. I would not belittle the benefits of a large perspective, but, while enjoying these, one ever needs to be on his guard against imputing to far-sighted human purpose results which as a matter of fact grew out of situations whose outcome was problematical to the persons concerned in them.

It seems therefore worth while to consider once more the evidence bearing on the earlier conspiracy. Among the witnesses Cicero clearly holds first place; for surely no other among them had a stronger motive or better opportunity to sift the matter to the bottom. Of course on this subject, as elsewhere, Cicero's testimony is apt to be colored by the circumstances under which he speaks; but this fact usually very thinly screens his real convictions. Unfortunately the greater part of his testimony touching the earlier conspiracy is either lost or to be had only at second hand; in fact the speech *pro Sulla* is the only complete extant document in which he communicates any considerable amount of information on this subject. Asconius has preserved important fragments of the speeches *pro Cornelio* (65 B.C.) and *in Toga Candida* (64 B.C.), and here and there in other writings Cicero incidentally touches on the events of the years 66-65; but we must ever regret the loss of his systematic historical treatises. It may perhaps be questioned whether the work *περὶ Ὑπατείας* (*de Consulatu Suo*) contained much in the way of direct reference to the earlier conspiracy. But the treatise known as *Ἀνέκδοτα* (*de Consiliis Suis*) seems very clearly to have included utterances bearing directly on the subject.² This latter work was published late, being withheld from circulation until a time when considerations of diplomacy no longer precluded a frank expression of opinion on Cicero's part. For our present purpose therefore its loss is more serious than that of the other treatise. However, Asconius evidently had access to the document, and Plutarch³ and Dio Cassius⁴ seem at least to have known something of its contents.

To Sallust, who represents a more or less independent line of tradition, would naturally be assigned the second place among

² See Asconius on *in Tog. Cand.* p. 74 (K. and S.).

³ *Crass.* 13.

⁴ 39. 10.

the witnesses. For he writes of events that occurred during his own lifetime, and his version of the story of the earlier conspiracy is the most systematic and complete account we possess. In Suetonius we seem to have, in part at least, a third line of tradition. At any rate he cites utterances which, antedating the publication of the *Ἀνέκδοτα* and according ill with the prudence of Cicero's earlier statements, are at the same time quite at variance with Sallust's point of view.⁵ Livy, too, treated of the earlier conspiracy, and may have contributed something of value, though the report of his epitomist promises little.⁶

The external history of the earlier conspiracy is fairly clear, being somewhat as follows. At the regular consular election held in the year 66 P. Autronius and P. Sulla were successful, defeating L. Cotta and L. Torquatus. The latter, falling back on a practice much in vogue at that time,⁷ solaced their injured feelings by bringing a charge of bribery against the successful candidates.⁸ As a result of this action the *consules designati* were disqualified,⁹ and a new election was ordered. Meanwhile¹⁰

⁵ See Suet. *Iul.* 9.

⁶ *Coniuratio eorum, qui in petitione consulatus ambitus damnati erant, facta de interficiendis consulibus oppressa est (Periocha CI).* It is possible that one or two of the minor details cited by Dio Cassius are drawn from Livy's account.

⁷ Cf. the experience of Murena in 63 B.C., and see *p. Mur.* 24. 48 ff.

⁸ I note here that Willrich (de *Coniurationis Catilinae Fontibus*, Göttingen 1893, p. 17) assumes that Asconius could not have learned from Cicero's writings who the accusers were—a somewhat perilous assumption in view of the fact that so much of Cicero's testimony is lost. It would seem too that Willrich had overlooked one or two extant utterances of Cicero which throw some light on this matter. See *p. Sulla* 17. 49: *Tum adfecto P. Sulla consulatus vobis (sc. Torquatis) pariebatur . . . ; ereptum repetere vos clamitabatis, ut victi in campo in foro vinceretis*; also *de Fin.* ii. 19. 62: *te ipsum (sc. Torquatum filium) . . . voluptasne induxit ut adulescentulus eriperes P. Sullae consulatum? Quem cum ad patrem tuum retulisses, etc.*

⁹ The verdict was doubtless just. Asconius (p. 66) quotes Cicero as thus expressing himself in *p. Cornelio* regarding this action: *spectaculum illud re et tempore salubre ac necessarium, genere (et) exemplo miserum ac funestum.* In fact in cases of this sort guilt was more or less a matter of course. Even the increasingly strict laws against bribery seem subsequently to have checked the practice little, perhaps partly because it was so easy to escape conviction by the use of more money or by other means. Cf. the strait to which even the most moral and conservative Roman of his day was reduced, Suet. *Iul.* 19.

¹⁰ On the chronology at this point the sources are far less in conflict than one might assume from a hasty reading of John's article in *Rhein. Mus.* xxxi. p. 401 ff.

Catiline, who as propraetor of Africa had been plundering his province in the conventional fashion, returned to Rome and desired to be a candidate at this special election. His request was taken under advisement by the consul L. Volcatius Tullus, who after consultation, ruled that Catiline could not be considered as a candidate at that time because he was even then under indictment for his peculations in Africa. The election resulted in the choice of L. Cotta and L. Torquatus, the persons who, after their defeat at the previous election, had brought charges against Autronius and Sulla.

The disqualified and disgruntled candidates¹¹ thereupon united in a plot to murder their successful rivals on inauguration day (Jan. 1; 65).¹² This plan, however, was discovered or betrayed, and the attempt was necessarily postponed. In the meantime the trial of C. Manilius,¹³ which had been scheduled for the last day of December, was made the occasion of a hostile demonstration¹⁴—a proceeding all too common at this period in connection with the administration of justice.¹⁵ The plans of the conspirators now converged on February 5, at which time many of the optimates were to be killed along with the consuls. The whole undertaking miscarried, however, through the over-eager-

¹¹ Not excluding Sulla, despite his acquittal in 62 on the charge of conspiracy. Indeed Cicero's speech of defense at the time of the trial is in itself sufficient to convince any careful reader of Sulla's guilt. An able and ingenious composition it certainly is, but manifestly the work of a man who is uncomfortably conscious throughout of the weakness of his case; cf. there 13. 36 ff. and 24. 67 ff.

¹² Cn. Piso seems also to have been openly identified with the movement; cf. Cic. *p. Mur.* 38. 81, *p. Sulla* 24. 67; Asconius on *p. Cornelio* p. 58, and in *Tog. Cand.* pp. 74, 82-83; Dio Cass. 36. 27 [44]; Sallust 18 and 19; Suet. *Iul.* 9.

¹³ The mover of Pompey's military command, now defendant in an extortion case. For details concerning this action see Plutarch, *Cic.* 9, and Dio Cass. 36. 27 [44].

¹⁴ It is to this incident that Cicero refers in *Cat.* i. 6. 15; *Potestne tibi haec lux, Catilina, aut huius caeli spiritus esse iucundus, cum scias horum esse neminem qui nesciat te pridie Kalendas Ianuarias Lepido et Tullo consulibus stetisse in comitio cum telo?* Cf. also the passage quoted from *p. Cornelio* by Asconius, p. 58.

¹⁵ Indeed this matter had become a crying disgrace. Where bribery failed, the operations of the court could be brought to a standstill by the danger (or realization) of murderous assault; cf. the amazing case of lawlessness at the first trial of Milo (Cic. *ad Quint. Fr.* ii. 3. 2); see also *p. Sulla* 5. 15, and Asconius on *p. Cornelio*, pp. 51 and 52.

ness of the leader, it is said, who gave the signal before everything was in readiness.¹⁶

On one point touching the external history of this conspiracy there seems room for debate, namely the question of the identity of the commanding officer—Who was the man who gave the signal on February 5 by allowing the toga to slip from his shoulder? Cicero pretty clearly assigns this rôle to Catiline. For, after reminding the latter (*in Cat.* i. 6. 15) of his behavior on the day set for the trial of Manilius, he passes on in his questioning to the main business of the conspiracy—(te) manum consulum et principum civitatis interficiendorum causa paravisse? sceleri ac furori tuo non mentem aliquam aut timorem, sed fortunam populi Romani obstitisse?¹⁷—the last clause referring apparently to the too hastily given signal, thus according exactly with Sallust's more explicit account.¹⁸ Suetonius on the other hand reports a version of the story which assigns to Caesar the business of giving the signal.¹⁹

In weighing this evidence too much stress perhaps should not be laid on the fact that here (and throughout his account of the earlier conspiracy generally) Suetonius *quotes* rather than affirms; but we may not pass lightly over the fact that he names his authorities, and that they are persons of known animus against Caesar.²⁰ On the other hand Sallust's anxiety to put Caesar in a favorable light might perhaps seem to some fair reason for questioning whether the charge he makes against Catiline is not in the nature of a blind. But Cicero's position was different, and though at the time his above quoted testimony was written he doubtless felt it expedient to bear lightly on

¹⁶ Suetonius (*Iul.* 9) quotes the divergent account of Tanusius Geminus, who relates that the circumstances on that day were so discouraging that the signal was not given at all.

¹⁷ Cf. *p. Mur.* 38. 81 and *in Tog. Cand.* p. 82: Praetereo nefarium illum conatum tuum et paene acerbum et luctuosum rei publicae diem, cum Cn. Pisone socio neque alio nemine caedem optimatum facere voluisti. See also the commentary of Asconius on this passage, comparing the same with his remark on p. 74.

¹⁸ Chap. 18.

¹⁹ *Iul.* 9.

²⁰ Namely Tanusius Geminus, M. Actorius Naso, C. Curio pater, and Bibulus.

anything derogatory to Caesar, I am inclined to think that the evidence he offers turns the scale slightly in Catiline's direction; and every general consideration certainly points the same way. For, however much or little Caesar may have been interested in the conspiracy, it is scarcely credible that he would commit himself openly to so rash and doubtful an undertaking. Furthermore the story of the too hastily given signal, if true,²¹ comports far better with the impetuous character of Catiline.

Turning now to the question of the inner nature and significance of the earlier conspiracy, the evidence seems to show beyond any reasonable doubt that both this disturbance and the later conspiracy of 63-62 were excrecences upon the surface of one and the same underlying movement. For it will be recalled that throughout the whole period of 66-62 the same political and economic conditions continued practically unchanged. In control of the situation was a rich, well entrenched and self-satisfied oligarchy. Meanwhile intense bitterness prevailed in the hearts of the ruined small farmer, the impoverished debtor, the disfranchised citizen, and the unsuccessful politician who could not force his way into the inner circle. Moreover, old-time veterans settled in various parts of Italy, once gorged with plunder, were now anxious to make more money in the same easy way, and the lazy city proletariat, supported by the bounty of the state, was insolent and ripe for mischief. Given a leader about whom these and other forces of opposition might rally, and the situation at once became acute—less so in the case of the earlier conspiracy because the preparations then made were less careful and extensive. Cicero frequently and clearly records his conviction that the two conspiracies were incidents in one and the same general movement; *e.g.*,

in Cat. i. 13. 31:

Etenim iam diu, patres conscripti, in his periculis coniurationis insidiisque versamur, sed nescio quo pacto omnium scelerum ac veteris furoris et audaciae maturitas in nostri consulatus tempus erupit.

²¹ See note 16. The question of Tanusius' reliability concerning this detail cannot well be disassociated from the question of the credibility of the charge he makes against Caesar.

p. Mur. 38. 81:

Omnia, quae per hoc triennium agitata sunt, iam ab eo tempore quo a L. Catilina et Cn. Pisone initum consilium senatus interficiendi scitis esse, in hos dies, in hos menses, in hoc tempus erumpunt.

p. Sulla 24. 67:

Hic tu epistolam meam saepe recitas, quam ego ad Cn. Pompeium de meis rebus gestis et de summa re publica misi, et ex ea crimen aliquod in P. Sullam quaeris, et, si furorem incredibilem biennio ante conceptum erupisse in meo consulatu scripsi, me hoc demonstrasse dicis Sullam in illa fuisse superiore coniuratione.²²

In this connection it is also worthy of note that the captains in both conspiracies were men of the same class,—for the most part disgruntled second-rate politicians who had a grudge to satisfy or who hoped to gain an office by force; indeed, to a certain extent, they were identically the same persons, namely Catiline, Cethegus,²³ Vargunteius,²⁴ Autronius, and Sulla.²⁵ But of still greater importance as a link connecting the two conspiracies was the presence in the background of Caesar and Crassus—influential accomplices, watching the fray from a more or less safe distance, and spurring on the under dog. That these prominent men took an active interest even in the earlier and less important conspiracy may perhaps seem doubtful to some, and I therefore introduce here a part of the evidence bearing on this point. In Caesar's case it is perhaps fair to allow the interested rumors published by his detractors²⁶ to be offset by the silence of Sallust; but this still leaves Cicero's testimony to be reckoned with. He, apparently even during Caesar's lifetime, did not hesitate to indicate pretty clearly his view on this subject; cf.

²² Cf. in *Cat.* iv. 3. 6, and the extract from Cicero's letter quoted in *Suet. Iul.* 9.

²³ *Sallust* 52. 33.

²⁴ *p. Sulla* 24. 67.

²⁵ Among the conspicuous leaders whose names first appear in connection with the second conspiracy were two more disgruntled politicians—Cassius, who had been defeated in the consular election of 64 (*Asconius on Tog. Cand.* p. 73), and Lentulus, a man expelled from the senate after holding the consulship, and at that time repeating the *cursus honorum* to regain his lost standing (*Dio Cass.* 37. 30).

²⁶ *Suet. Iul.* 9.

Suet. *Iul.* 9:

De hac (sc. coniuratione) significare videtur et Cicero, in quadam ad Axiu[m] epistula referens, Caesarem in consulatu confirmasse regnum, de quo aedilis (i.e., in 65) cogitabat.²⁷

Furthermore, if Suetonius has at all correctly caught the spirit and aim of Caesar's policy, it is a foregone conclusion that no such disturbance as that of 66-65 could be on foot without enlisting the latter's attention and interest. In speaking of happenings as early as the year 78 Suetonius strikes the key-note of Caesar's procedure (as portrayed by him) for the following thirty years:

Iul. 3:

Nam Sullae²⁸ morte comperta, simul spe novae dissensionis, quae per Marcum Lepidum movebatur, Roman propere redit. . . . Lepidi . . . societate, quamquam magnis conditionibus invitaretur, abstinuit, cum ingenio eius diffusus, tum occasione, quam minorem opinione offenderat.

From this time on until the Rubicon was crossed in "defense" of the outraged dignity of the common's officials, the same strain runs through the narrative²⁹—a large personal ambition, a deep interest in fomenting opposition to the senatorial oligarchy, and great carefulness not to become too deeply involved in such ventures until the time was ripe. Standing thus in the shadow of the background, watching narrowly for any incident in the contest of parties of which he might make capital for himself, it is in the highest degree probable that Caesar would take an active interest in fomenting the disturbance of 66-65. The testimony of Suetonius therefore strongly corroborates that of Cicero. And in this connection it is fair, without stressing it too strongly, to mention the fact that Sulla appears later as Caesar's lieutenant

²⁷ Cf. *in Tog. Cand.* p. 83, where Cicero intimates that the backers of Catiline and Antonius in 64 are the same persons who were in league with Piso in 65; cf. too Asconius' comment on p. 74. Again, *l. c.* p. 82, there is possibility of a veiled reference: Praetereo nefarium illum conatum tuum et paene acerbum et luctuosum rei publicae diem, cum Cn. Pisone socio neque alio nemine caedem optimatum facere voluisti. For Cicero's opinion as published later cf. Plutarch, *Crass.*, 13 and Dio Cass. 39. 10.

²⁸ i.e., the dictator.

²⁹ See chap. 5 ff.

in the Civil War, commanding the right wing at the battle of Pharsalia.³⁰

If Caesar was thus interested in the earlier conspiracy, it would be strange if Crassus, who was also on the ground, did not feel a similar interest. Certain it is that the latter was very generally thought to be behind the movement. Indeed according to Asconius,³¹ who apparently is quoting from the *'Ανέκδοτα*, Cicero made this accusation in so many words.³² Sallust does not touch the matter directly, but his narrative shows that at this time Crassus was scheming and planning and quite wide awake with reference to the advancement of his own interests;³³ and Suetonius reports a version of the story which even exalted Crassus to the chief place in the conspiracy.³⁴

In view of these facts, we may well reject the verdict which dismisses the earlier conspiracy as a more or less insignificant and isolated disturbance. At the same time, as indicated above, I find it difficult to subscribe to the view which discerns in the events of 66-62 B.C. the systematic working out of the plans of a closely organized Dreibund, in which all three parties to the compact were working together intelligently and harmoniously to outgeneral Pompey and down the optimates, with the ultimate purpose that, under a new order of things, Caesar and Crassus should have the highest honors, that the commanding officers should receive an office apiece, and that the rank and file should enjoy more congenial conditions of living.

It is true that the dissatisfaction of all parties concerned with the existing oligarchical supremacy formed a tie which gave a certain unity to the movement. But I fail to find evidence of a thoroughgoing and effective organization. For had the matter been put upon a business footing throughout, the planning and directing would certainly have fallen to the really able men interested (namely the more or less silent accomplices Caesar

³⁰ Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii. 89. 3.

³¹ P. 74; see also Plutarch *Crass.* 13 and cf. Dio Cass. 39. 10.

³² In this connection it is interesting to recall that Sallust (chap. 48) relates that he personally heard Crassus complain that Cicero was responsible for the charges connecting his name with the later conspiracy.

³³ Chap. 19.

³⁴ *Iul.* 9.

and Crassus), and every field leader would have known his place and his duty. But one cannot read all the evidence, especially concerning the second conspiracy (the very time when the able accomplices were most deeply interested), without gathering the impression that the field captains did not feel themselves to be in any sense underlings. On the contrary their conduct is marked throughout by a braggart independence and almost an unwillingness to take the trouble to secure concerted action even among themselves.³⁵

I am inclined to think, too, that there was considerable insincerity in the relation of the parties concerned in this general movement. The discontented rank and file were ready to follow any leader, if only he was hostile to the existing form of government. It would not be unduly uncharitable, I think, to say that the immediate leaders—certain second-rate and disgruntled politicians—seized upon this situation primarily as a means to even old scores and perhaps to make themselves “great.” And it looks very much as though they in turn were being used in much the same way by their more able accomplices, who, keeping out of the limelight as much as possible, were urging on the strife and standing ready to seize upon any chance for large personal advancement that might result therefrom.³⁶

It may be questioned whether Caesar and Crassus desired the conspiracies to succeed, *i.e.*, to culminate in a situation such as some of the field captains seem to have dreamed of. It is true that they appear to have taken a deeper interest in the second conspiracy, and it is also true that at that time a more extensive plan was on foot; but even then it is altogether probable that they were thinking of nothing more than the stirring up of a furor which would give them an opportunity to secure great prestige by “saving” the state.³⁷ At any rate, it is scarcely

³⁵ Note Catiline's tone throughout, and the airs assumed by Lentulus after Catiline left Rome.

³⁶ If this analysis of the situation is correct, it does away with the mooted question whether the conspiracy of Catiline was political or economic in its aims. For, on this hypothesis, it was both—political in so far as the ambitions of the leaders were concerned, economic with respect to the hopes of many of the rank and file.

³⁷ Note in this connection Pompey's efforts to secure his own recall that he might not miss the fine opportunity for advancement.

conceivable that they had the slightest idea of plunging it into anarchy and ruin.³⁸

In closing I call attention to a few events of the period 66-62 B.C. which seem to be connected with the general movement to which the two conspiracies belong. It is a rather difficult matter to untangle the skein and determine the exact bearing of some of these happenings, but they are interesting nevertheless as indicative of the continuity of the movement and the extent of its ramifications. Under this head might be mentioned the organization of Etruria by Manlius and the attempt to enlist the Allobroges, but I pass at once to several less frequently discussed episodes.

First may be mentioned an occurrence which seems to have taken place during the time of the earlier conspiracy, namely the attempt to enlist the fleet of L. Gellius, who was in command of the Tuscan Sea at the time of the Pirate War.³⁹ Of this move Cicero says

post red. ad Quir. 7. 17:

. . . L. Gelli; qui quia suam classem adtemptatam magno cum suo periculo paene sensit, dixit in contione vestrum, si ego consul, cum fui, non fuissem, rem publicam funditus interituram fuisse.

Next in order is the sending of Cn. Piso to Spain with a command *extra ordinem*. It may be, as Sallust says,⁴⁰ that some short-sighted senators thought that they were side-tracking a dangerous leader by thus disposing of Piso. But it certainly was a strange disposition to make of a man generally conceded to be able and lately a participant in the earlier conspiracy. When we consider the strategic value of Spain as a base of operations and the important part it played in the Civil War,⁴¹ it is little wonder that Catiline felt⁴² that his cause was strengthened by the

³⁸ I therefore do not feel the force of the argument set forth in Drumann's *Geschichte Roms*, Ed. ii. Vol. iii. p. 138 to prove that Caesar was not a partner in the earlier conspiracy.

³⁹ See Florus iii. 6. 9.

⁴⁰ Chap. 19.

⁴¹ It will be recalled that Caesar felt it more important to subdue Spain than to follow up Pompey's demoralized flight from Italy; and that, after he had conquered the world, his enemies were again in arms in Spain, thus necessitating a second subjugation of that province.

⁴² See Sallust 21.

appointment of a former ally to this important post. And, in view of the fact that Crassus was probably implicated in the earlier conspiracy, Sallust's account of this incident⁴³ is significant, namely that Crassus put through Piso's appointment, his motive being jealousy of the growing power of Pompey. The rumor that the subsequent murder of Piso in Spain was instigated by Pompey⁴⁴ fits well with the suspicious nature of the whole episode.⁴⁵

Still again, the movements of P. Sittius of Nuceria present an interesting problem. On the occasion of his damaging plea in behalf of Sulla, Cicero advances what looks like a very labored explanation of the departure of this friend of Sulla's for Spain and Africa.⁴⁶ According to Sallust,⁴⁷ Catiline regarded this move as the establishment of another base of operations favorable to his cause. And we may not forget that Sittius, as well as Sulla, joined Caesar's standard in the Civil War, rendering valuable service with the forces which he had organized in Africa.⁴⁸

Finally, it would be interesting to know the true inwardness of the consular campaign of 64. Suspicion was rife that Caesar and Crassus were backing Catiline and Antonius for the office.⁴⁹ Sallust of course would not mention such a suspicion of Caesar, even though he knew it to be well founded; but he does record the rumor about Crassus,⁵⁰ and makes the significant remark⁵¹ that the optimates were so alarmed at the situation that they

⁴³ Chap. 19.

⁴⁴ Sallust (l. c.), while professing to leave the question quite unprejudiced, still recites an argument which looks toward the participation of Pompey in this crime.

⁴⁵ Cf. Suet. *Iul.* 9, and Aseonius on *in Tog. Cand.* p. 83: *Dicit (sc. Cicero) de malis civibus: "Qui posteaquam illo (quo) conati erant Hispaniensi pugniunculo nervos incidere civium Romanorum non potuerunt . . ."* Hispaniensem pugniunculum Cn. Pisonem appellat.

⁴⁶ p. *Sulla* 20. 56 ff. Contrast the tone of *in Cat.* iv. 3. 6.

⁴⁷ Chap. 21.

⁴⁸ See Caesar, *Bell. Afr.* 25. 2, etc.

⁴⁹ Cf. again *in Tog. Cand.* p. 83, where, after charging "mali cives" with ulterior motives in connection with Piso's appointment, Cicero continues: *duas uno tempore conantur in rem publicam sieas destringere, and Aseonius adds the scarcely needed information that Catiline and Antonius are the siccae referred to. See also l. c. p. 74, and Aseonius' comment there.*

⁵⁰ Chap. 17.

⁵¹ Chap. 23.

secured the election of Cicero, though they relished little the idea of helping forward a *novus homo*.⁵²

Viewed in connection with the general movement of which it was an incident, the earlier conspiracy is not by any means wanting in interest, though, as above intimated, both it and the later conspiracy, in themselves considered, were events of no great importance. As signs of the times they were significant enough, but being left to the mismanagement of incompetent and more or less egotistical captains, they were from the start doomed to failure, at least so far as the dreams of the immediate leaders were concerned.⁵³ The situations which they promised to precipitate were such as to delight the hearts of the silent accomplices, and it must have been infinitely galling to the latter that, after their long scheming, the state was "saved" by an upstart, while they themselves came off only with badly damaged reputations.

⁵² A similar situation occurred in 60 B.C., when the optimates gravely and officially adopted "campaign methods" to secure the election of Bibulus as a check on Caesar, who also was then a candidate for the consulship and likely to be elected; see Suet. *Jul.* 19.

⁵³ In the event of large advancement for Caesar they might of course have received some reward. For, whatever other faults he had, Caesar was not careless about remembering old associates when he had any patronage to dispense.

ON THE CONTRACTED GENITIVE IN
I IN LATIN.

BY

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In Harpers' Latin Dictionary there are listed, exclusive of proper names, 1095 words in -ium, 462 in -ius, 103 in -ion, 3 in -ios; in all 1663. There are many more in the Thesaurus so far as published: under a, 104, under b, 33, under c, up to the word cauterium, 47 that are not in Harpers'. These additional words are found mainly in the inscriptions, the glosses, and in very late Latin literature. In Harpers' Dictionary from a to cauterium there are 244 words; in the Thesaurus, within the same limit, there are 345. If this proportion should be maintained in the forthcoming parts of the Thesaurus, there may be found perhaps 2350 words.

An inquiry concerning the occurrence of the genitive forms of these words meets with many difficulties. I have consulted the principal Latin lexicons, the Thesaurus so far as published, Neue's Formenlehre, Georges' Lexicon of Latin word-forms, the published lexicons to the separate authors, the indices to the important editions, scattered notes in commentaries, grammars, journals and dissertations; and where no lexicon has been made for an author I have surveyed the entire works of that author, and have included all the works named in the list given in Harpers' Dictionary, with some additions. One of the best lists of references on the subject is in Wölfflin's Archiv XIV, 339. The

accuracy of the evidence is impaired by differences in editorial judgment, and also by human limitations; but it may be trusted to show tendencies, if nothing more. The MS. reading in numerous cases is not available, and many editors have passed lightly over the question.

I know of no occurrence of a genitive singular form in the following words, and therefore cite the nominative singular:

abietarius	aequilibrium	anellarius	aquiminarium
abluvium	aestimium	angarium	aquivergium
aborticium	aestuarium	angarius	arborarius
acanthion	aetion	angium	arcarius
accendium	agellarius	angularius	archelion
acceptorius	agonium	animatorium	archisterium
accitulum	alaudarium	annonarius	architriclinium
acelinatorium	alberium	antarius	archium
accubitorium	alcibium	antecenium	arcifinium
acetarium	aleatorium	antecolumnium	arcion
achasius	alicarius	anteridion	arcisellium
acciarium	alieniloquium	antescolarius	arcisolium
aciarium	alipilarius	anteludium	arction
acion	alluvium	anthracion	arcuarus
aciscularius	altarium	anthyllion	arcuballistarius
acoriõn	altiliarius	anthyllium	arcubius
aceridium	alvearium	antibibulum	arcularius
acrimonium	alvearius	antimenion	argemonium
acrinomium	amasius	antion	argentarium
acrocolion	amatorium	antistitium	armamentarium
acrocolium	ambivium	anularium	armentarium
acrocofeium	ambrosium	apanteterium	armificatorium
acropodium	ambulatorium	apenarius	armoracium
actionarius	amburbium	apertularius	arnion
acuclarium	amicarius	apiarium	aromatarius
acuclarius	amictorium	apiarius	artemonion
acupedium	amphiceius	apocrisarius	arterium
acupedius	ampullarius	apolyterium	artisecium
adductorium	amussium	apothecarius	artophaeion
adipatarius	anaboladium	apparatorium	arvipendium
admonitorium	anabolicarius	appendicium	arusion
adnuntius	anabolium	appendium	asceterium
adoptaticius	anactorium	applicatarius	aselatium
adundatorium	anacliterium	apnium	asifolium
aegilopium	anaglypharius	appostorium	asinarius
aegrimonium	analentidium	aquaeductium	asphaltion
aegripomium	analogium	aquaelicium	assarius
aequilatium	anaptoterium	aquarium	assipondium
aequilavium	anatiarius	aquifolium	asterion

astrion	bielinium	calcarius	carpesion
astrutium	bigarius	calcatorium	carracutum
astureonarius	binoctium	calceolarius	carrarius
athanuvium	bipalium	calceamentarius	carrucarius
atlantion	bipedalium	calcearius	carthesium
atoeium	bisaccium	caldarium	casarius
atramentarium	bisellarius	calefactorium	cassidarius
atramentarius	bivium	caliandrium	castellarius
auctarium	blandiloquium	caliclarium	castimonium
auctionarius	blanditium	calielarius	catadromarius
auguratorium	blattinium	caligarius	cataphractarius
aviarium	bolarium	calliblepharium	catractarius
avitium	bolium	calobatarius	catarius
avium	boniloquium	calvarium	catascopium
aularius	bombylium	camelarius	catastolium
aumatium	botularius	camelopodion	catillarius
aurarius 1	bovicidium	canabarius	catonium
aurarius 2	bovilium	canalicarius	cavaedium
aricularius	braechionarium	canerarium	cauponarius
aurigarius	bracarius	candelabrarius	causarius
auriscalpium	bractearius	candelabrus	cedrium
automatorium	brattarius	canonicarius	cellarium
automatarius	brephotrophium	cantabrus	cellarius
auxiliarius	breviloquium	cantabrus	cellarius
	broelarius	capillitium	cellarium
bacarium	bubalion	capisterium	celleromarium
bacehion	bubinarium	capistrarius	celtium
bacterium	bubonion	capitilavium	cenacularius
ballantion	bubularius	capitularis	cenarius
ballistarium	huecelarius	capnion	cenatorium
ballistarius	bueranion	capnios	cenotaphium
baltearius	bueranium	caprarius	centenarius
bambilium	buerius	capricius	centipedium
bamborium	budinarius	caprinarius	centonarius
baptizatorium	buleuterium	capsararius	centumpondium
barbitium	bunion	capsarium	ceparius
barbitondium	burdonarius	capsarius	cepotaphium
basilium	burgarius	captorium	cepotaphius
basium	burius	capturarius	ceputius
bastagarius	bustuarium	carbatium	cerarium
basternarius		carbonarius	cerarius
batrachion	caballarius	carcerarius	cerasarius
battuarium	caballion	carchesium	cerasium
baxiarius	caburtarius	cardinarius	ceratium
belion	caecurius	carinarius	ceratorium
beneficiarius	caeparius	carius	cerearium
biberarius	caerimonium	carnarium	cerearius
bibonius	calamaularius	carnarius	cereius
bicinium	calcararius	carnatorium	ceriarium

cerilarium	codicillarius	contumelium	damium
ceriolarium	coementarium	conventicium	dardanarius
ceriolarium	cogitatorium	convicaneus	deambulatorium
cermatium	colepium	cooperarius	deditecius
cerofavium	coliphium	coopertorium	deductorium
ceroferarius	collacticius	copadium	defluvium
cervesarius	collarium	copiarius	defrutarium
cervicarium	collimitium	cordolium	deiurium
eerycium	colludium	corion	delicieum
cetarium	collustrium	corius	delicieus
cetarius	colluvium	cornicinium	deliquium
chalazion	colobium	cornificium	delirium
chartarius	coloniarius	cornuarius	dentiscalpium
chartularius	columbarius	coronarius	depositorius
chenoboscion	columnarium	corrivium	desultorius
cheramaxium	columnarius	corymbion	devoratorium
choragium	commemoratum	cosmetorium	devortium
chorius	commentarius	cotarius	dextrocherium
ciborium	compendiarium	covinnarius	diabathrarius
eichorium	completorium	cracatus	diaetarius
cimeliarchium	concahedraneus	crambion	diaglaucium
einctorium	concellaneus	creditarius	diagonium
einerarium	conchyliarius	creditorius	diarium
einerarius	conclavium	cremium	diatretarius
circamoerium	concordium	cremutium	dichomenium
circumeisorium	condalium	eribrarius	dieimonium
circumluvium	condicionarius	eribolium	dictobolarium
cirsion	condimentarius	crucifragius	dieterium
cisiarius	confectorarius	crucium	diffugium
eisorium	confectorium	crustularius	diludium
eission	confilius	cryptarius	dinummium
eissybium	configium	eueumerarium	diplangium
eitatorium	confluvium	eueurbitarius	diploarius
eitocacium	conisterium	euleitarius	directarius
eitrarius	conopium	eulinarius	discordium
classarius	conscaplum	eumcularius	discretorium
elavarium	consecretarius	euparius	disiurgium
clavicarius	consectaneus	euppedinarius	diverbum
eleonicion	consentaneus	euppedium	divergium
elepsydrarius	consentium	cursorium	dolabrarius
elibanarius	considium	cuscolium	dolatorium
elibanicius	consocius	eustodiarium	doliarium
elidion	consortius	eustodiarius	domicienium
elinopodion	conspolium	euturnium	domicurius
elysterium	constitutionarius	cybiarius	donarium
coactiliarius	contarius	cyenarium	doryenion
coagmentarius	conticinium	cymbium	draconarius
cocinatorium	contrarius	cymbius	dracontarium
coctuararius	contrullium	cynomorion	dracontion

dracontium	factionarius	glandium	impluvium
dromedarius	faenarius	glirarium	innaniloquium
duodecennium	faenerarius	glomerarius	incendarius
duplicarius	farfugium	glossarium	incinerarium
dupondarius	farinarium	glutinarium	incomium
dupondius	fatiloquium	glutinium	inconsilium
	femellarius	gobius	inductorium
eborarius	ferentarius	grammatophylacium	indusiarium
eclogarium	ferramentarius	granarium	indusium
edulium	ferrariarius	graphium	infectorium
effluvium	ferrarius	graphius	infusorium
egregrium	ferriterium	gremium	insignarius
elaeothesium	fertorium	gubernius	institium
embolarius	fibulatorium	gustatorium	inspicium
embolium	ficarius	gutternium	intercilium
emissarium	flaturarius	gynaeciarius	interdiarius
emunctorium	foricarius	gynaecius	interfectorium
encautarium	foricarium	gypsarius	interfeminium
encomium	formularius		intermetium
ephebius	fragium	harenarium	internecium
ephippium	frixorium	hastarium	internodium
epigrammatarium	frumentarius	hecatombion	internundinium
epinicius	fullonium	heleciarius	internuncium
epiredium	fumarium	heleium	interordinium
episcenium	fumigium	helenium	interpodium
episeynium	fundibularius	helioscopium	intersealmium
epistolium	funerarius	hemicadium	interseapilium
epistomium	fusorium	hemionion	intertignum
epitaphion	fustuarium	hemistichium	interturrium
epitaphius		hemistrigium	interarsurium
epithematium	gallicarius	herbarium	intervenium
epitogium	gallicinium	herbarius	isiciarius
epitonium	gallinarium	heredium	itinerarium
epomphalion	gallinarius	heroion	iudicitorium
epulatorium	ganglion	hieracium	
equarius	gargarismatium	holerarium	lactarium
equitarius	gaudimonium	horoscopium	lactarius
eremodicium	gaunacarius	horrearius	lacticinium
ergasterium	gemellarium	hypobrychium	lactucarius
essedarius	gemmarius	hypopodium	lacunarium
eunuchion	geniarius	hypotaurium	lanium
exagium	geranium	hypotrachalium	lanarius
exceptorium	gerdius		lanciarium
excubitorium	gerontocomium	igniarius	langurium
exochadium	gerundium	ignispicium	laniarium
exodiarius	gingidion	illicium	laniarius
exodium	gladiatorium	illudium	laniatorium
fabatarium	gladiolum	imaginarius	lanipendium
facitergium	gladiolus	immissarium	lanipendius

lanternarius	lusorium	mercedarius	mutonium
lapsanium	lychnobius	mercedonius	mutonius
laquearium	lyneurium	merendarius	myrmecium
laquearius	lyneurius	meritorium	myropolium
lararium		mesonyctium	myrothecium
lardarius	macellarius	metallarius	
laterarius	machinarius	methodium	nablium
latericium	magiriseium	metopion	nardostatus
latielavius	magmentarium	milesium	narthecium
latifundium	magnarius	miliarium	natatorium
laturarius	magnificium	mimarius	naticidium
lecticarius	magniloquium	miniarium	naumacharius
lectisternium	maiorarius	minutiloquium	nauegiarius
legarium	malluvium	mirabiliarius	naxium
leguleius	manciparius	miserevivium	nefarium
legumenarius	mandatarius	miserimonium	nefrenditium
lemonium	mangonium	missorium	nescium
lenuncularius	manicarius	mittendarius	nession
leontios	manifolium	mixtarius	niceterium
leporarium	mantelium	modium	nidificium
levitonarium	manticularius	molemnium	nitron
lexidium	manuarius	molendinarius	noctisurgium
libadion	manuballistarius	molochinarius	nonagenarius
libanios	manucium	monarchium	nonuncium
libatorium	manulearius	monochorius	nosocomium
libertinium	manutergium	monodiarius	notion
libitinaris	manutigium	monodium	notorium
librarium	margaritarius	monolium	novicium
liciatorium	marmorarius	monopodium	novilunium
licinium	medicamentarius	monostichium	nubilarium
ligurius	medion	moretarium	numerarius
liminium	meditatorium	morion	nutricium
limonion	meditullium	motarium	nutricius
linarius	megalium	motorium	
linguarium	melampodium	mucinium	obaerarius
lintearius	melapium	muletrarium	obloquium
liquatorium	mellacium	mulceurius	occidium
locutuleius	mellarium	munerararius	octennium
logarion	mellarius	munificium	octogenarius
lomentarius	mellificium	muralium	ocularius
longiloquium	melium	murrotharrarius	odariarius
lorarius	membranarius	musarium	odarium
loricarius	mendaciloquium	muscellarium	oenanthium
lucernarium	mendicimonium	musearius	oenophorium
lucinium	menion	musicarius	oenopolium
ludius	menogenion	musivarius	offertorium
lumbifragium	mensarius	mustacium	olearius
luparnarium	mensarium	mustacius	olfactorium
luparius	ensorium	mutatorium	ollarium

onocardion	pellicium	plinthium	proluvium
opertorium	pellionarius	plumacium	promagisterium
ophidion	pelluvium	plumbarius	prosequium
opition	penarius	plumbarium	protocomium
orarium	pennarium	plutarius	pseudobunio
oratorium	perisceelium	pluvium	psychomantium
orchion	peristylium	podarius	psythium
organarius	pernarius	poematium	pterygium
orificium	perpetuarius	polyarchion	ptisanarium
orthopygium	pervium	polymitarius	ptochotrophium
ossilegium	pestarium	pomarius	pugillarius
ossuarium	petaminarius	ponderarium	pullarius
ostentarium	petauristarius	pontonium	pulvinarium
ostiarium	petilium	popinarius	punctorium
ostracium	petitorium	porcarius	purpurarius
ostrearium	phaecassium	porcinarium	pyctomacharius
	phaenion	portitorium	pythonion
paenularium	phalangarius	postscaenium	
paenularius	phalangium	poterion	quadragenarius
palearium	phalangius	poterium	quadratarius
palumbarius	pharetrazonium	potorium	quadribaceium
pammacharius	pharnaeion	praecinctorium	quadrifinium
pampinarium	pharnuprium	praecipitium	quadrifluvium
panaricium	phargonion	praeclavium	quadrigarius
panarium	phascolium	praefurnium	quadri noctium
panarius	phellandrion	praemeditatorium	quadrivium
pandurius	pheuxaspidion	praemetium	quadrivius
pangonius	phrenion	praenuntium	quaestionarius
panificium	phyganion	praenuntius	quaestorium
pannuvellium	phrynion	praerogativarius	quaestorius
pantelium	pictacium	praerupium	quietorium
paparium	pigmentarius	praesidarium	quinqertium
paracentarium	pilarium	praeverbium	quisquiliam
pararius	pilarius	praepedion	
parazonium	piperatorium	prasium	radium
parcimonium	piracium	prasius	raedarius
pardalium	piscarius	prensorium	ratiarius
paronychium	piscinarius	pressorium	rationalarium
parthenium	pistacium	primipilarius	rebellium
partarius	pithecium	primivirgius	recentarius
pastophorium	pittacium	privilegiarius	receptorium
patagiarius	pitydion	probation	reclinatorium
patagium	placentarius	procomion	receptorarius
patrium	plagiarius	professionarius	refragium
pausarius	plangimonium	profluvius	regifugium
pavimentarius	planetarius	proletarius	renuntius
pecuarius	plantarium	prologium	repertorium
pedicularius	plaustrarius	prolubium	repulsorium
pelagium	pleromarius	proludium	reurgium

requietorium	serutarius	solius	supersellium
retiarus	serutinium	solsequium	suppletorium
retium	seutarius	sorbitium	supportatorium
rhagion	seclusorium	sororicidium	synoeicum
rhepeion	selenitium	spadicarius	syntrophium
rhinion	sellarius	sparganion	syringotorium
rhytium	sellularius	spathalium	
risiloquium	semestrium	specularius	tabularium
roborarium	semiaxius	sphaerion	talutatium
rorarius	semicinctium	sphaeristerium	tasconium
rosarius	semifastigium	sphingion	tegularius
rudiarius	semifunium	spicilegium	telephion
rufus	semizonarius	spinturnicium	telonarius
	semnion	splenium	telonium
sabaiarius	semperflorium	spoliarium	termonarius
sacciperium	senatorius	spolium	temporarius
sacomarius	sensorium	spondalium	tentipellium
sacondios	septifolium	spureiloquium	tertiarium
sacondium	septuennium	spurium	tertioceries
sacrarius	sequestratorium	squinantium	tessellarius
sacrium	serapion	stadius	tesserarius
sagarius	serrarius	stiricidium	testamentarius
saginarium	serium	stivarius	tetradium
salaputium	servatorium	strophiarus	tetragnathius
salariarius	sesquiplarius	strophium	teuerion
salarius	sessimonium	stultiloquium	thalitruum
salgamarius	essorium	suarius	theoremation
saliarius	sicennium	suaviloquium	thermopolium
salsamentarius	siderion	subiunctorium	thermospodium
saltuarius	signarius	sublabium	thesion
salutatorium	signatorium	sublinguium	thesium
sanctificium	silentiarius	subluvium	thymion
sandalium	silicarius	subscriberdarius	tibiarius
sandapilarius	silicernium	subsequium	titivallitium
sardius	silicernius	subterfugium	togatarius
satellitium	siliginarius	suburbium	topiarius
saurion	simius	succinctorium	torcularius
saxiperium	simpulariarius	succornicularius	trodylion
scalptorium	simpuvium	sudarium	tractatorium
scapharius	sincinium	sudatorium	tragion
scaphium	siparion	sufflatorium	tragularius
schedium	sirium	suffugium	traharius
scimpodion	sisymbrium	suffusorium	traiectorium
scolopendrium	sisyrinchion	suggrundarium	trapezium
scoparius	smilion	summarius	tribunicus
seriniarius	solarium	superaedificium	tricinium
scriptorium	solearius	superficium	trifinium
scripturarius	solifundium	superumentarius	trifurcium
serutarium	soliloquium	superpondium	trigarium

trihorium	ulmarium	velarius	vinarius
trimodium	unctorium	velificium	vindicium
trinoetium	urion	venaliciarius	violacium
tripolium	urium	venalicium	violarium
tripudium	urnarium	venalicius	violarius
triseurrium	usuarius	venenarius	viscatorium
tristimonium	utricularius	verbenarius	visium
trivium		veredarius	vitiarium
trullium	vaccinium	veriloquium	vitius
tryblium	valetudinarium	veriverbium	vitrearius
tubilustrium	valetudinarius	vesticontubernium	vivicomburium
tunicopallium	vaniloquium	veterinarium	vomitium
turdarium	vaporarium	veterinarius	vulnerarius
turpiloquium	vectarius	vexillarius	
tutelarius	vectigaliarius	vicesimarius	xenium
tympanium	vectuarius	vigilium	
	velarium	viminarius	zonarius

There are examples of the uncontracted genitive in *-ii* of the following words. Those starred have also the contracted form.

abortii	antiquarii	*bdellii	cerii
*absinthii	antiseii	*beneficii	cerotarii
acatii	*apii	bestiarii	chartarii
acerifolii	apodyterii	bibliothecarii	chelonii
*actarii	aquagii	*biennii	cibarii
actuarii	*aquarii	*bisellii	cilicii
adiutorii	*arbitrii	bracchii	cilii
admissarii	archipresbyterii	bravii	citrii
adsacrificii	arenarii	breviarii	clavicularii
*adulterii	argentarii	bustuarii	cloacarii
adventicii	armarii		cocelearii
adverbii	armentarii	*caementarii	cocinatorii
*adversarii	artificii	caepicii	coenobii
*aedificii	atriarii	calciarii	collectarii
aequinocetii	atrii	calendarii	collegetarii
aequipondii	*aucupii	calvitii	collegii
*aerarii (m.)	auditorii	cancellarii	*colloquii
*aerarii (n.)	augurii	capflorii	*collyrii
*albueii	*aucupii	capitii	*colophonii
*alcyonii	*auxilii	carnificii	columbarii
*alii	aviarii	carpentarii	commentarii
alimentarii		castorii	*commercii
alimonii	baecchii	catapotii	commilitii
alloquii	*balaustii	cauponii	commonitorii
ammii	baphii	cellarii	*compendii
antelogii	baptisterii	cenacularii	compluvii
anteloquii	basilicarii	*centaurii	*conchylii
anthalii	*batrachii	ceraunii	*conceili

concubii	dolii	*filii	infanticidii
conditorii	domicilii	*flagitii	*infortunii
confinii	dominaedii	flaminii	*ingenii
conflatorii	dominii	fluvii	initii
confugii	dormitorii	*folii	insomnii
*congiarii	dubii	fornicarii	intereolumnii
congii	dulciarii	fratricidii	internuntii
corii	*dupundii	frigidarii	interpretii
*coniugii		fructuarii	interstitii
*connubii	ecligmatii	furnarii	inventarii
conpunctorii	effugii		isicii
conservitii	elaterii	*gaudii	*iudicii
consiliarii	electarii	gazophylacii	*iurgii
*consilii	electuarii	gelicidii	iurispraetorii
consistorii	*elogii	genii	
*consortii	*eloquii	*gladii	labii
contagii	emissarii	glaucii	lanificii
contrarii	emporii	gurgustii	lanii
*contubernii	enchiridii	*gymnasii	lanicii
convicii	enlychnii	gynaecii	lapathii
*convivii	epistylia		*laticlavii
*coralli	epitaphii	harenarii	latrocinii
coriarii	epithalamii	haruspicii	legatarii
corii	equitii	*heliotropii	lenocinii
cornicularii	*ericii	hemieranii	lepidii
corollarii	erinacii	hemicyclii	libarii
cubicularii	*eryngii	hemiolii	*librarii
cybii	eterocranii	hemisphaerii	licii
cydonii	eupatorii	hemitonii	*lili
cymatii	*euphorbii	hereditarii	*litigii
	evangelii	hericii	lixivii
daerydii	excidii	herodii	logii
daemonii	exemplarii	*homicidii	*lolii
damasonii	exercitii	homousii	*lotii
decennii	*exilii	honorarii	ludribii
*denarii	*exitii	horarii	luseinii
dentifricii	exordii	hordeacii	*lycii
*desiderii	exorcisterii	*horologii	
deuteronomii	exterminarii	*hospitii	*magisterii
*deversorii	extermiiii	hostorii	*maleficii
diaconii	extispicii		*malicorii
diagridii		idolii	maliloquii
*diluvii	factorii	ieiunii	*mancipii
*dimidii	falsarii	*ilii	manubrarii
discidii	famulitii	impendii	manubrii
*dispendii	fasciarii	*imperii	manupretii
dissidii	*fastidii	improperii	*marrubii
*divortii	*fastigii	*incendii	marsupii
dodecatemorii	fideicommissarii	indicii	*martyrii

matricidii	*omphacii	*praedii	radii
*matrimonii	operarii	praefectorii	ratiocinii
*meconii	*opificii	praeiudicii	referendarii
medii	*opii	*praemii	refrigerarii
melampsthii	opithematii	praeputii	refrigerii
*melanthii	opprobrii	praesagii	refugii
*mendacii	ordinarii	praesepii	*remedii
mensularii	orphanotrophii	*praesidii	remigii
mercenarii	orthogonii	praestigii	repositorii
*mercimonii	ostiarum	*praetorii	repudii
meretricii	ostii	*prandii	rosarii
mesolabii	*otii	precarii	
milifolii		presbyterii	saccarii
*mili	paedagogii	*pretii	*sacerdotii
millii	*palatii	primicerii	sacarii
*minii	palladii	primiserinii	*sacrificii
ministerii	*pallii	*primordii	*sacrilegii
modii	palmarum	*principii	*sagittarii
monasterii	pancratii	privilegii	salarii
monetarii	paneficii	*prodigii	sanctimonii
monopolii	panicum	*proelii	sanctuarii
*mortarii	*parricidii	*profluvii	savii
multiloquii	participii	*proloquii	*scordii
*municipii	*patricii	promereii	scorpii
mysterii	*patrimonii	promontorii	scrinii
	*patrocinii	promptarii	secretarii
*nasturcii	*peculii	promptuarii	secundocerii
natalicii	pedarii	prooemii	seminarii
*naufragii	pentafolii	propitiatorii	seminii
navicularii	pentagonii	proprietaryi	semistrigii
*navigii	peplii	propudii	semitonii
*necessarii	perdicii	*proscenii	semodii
*negotii	*perfugii	*proverbii	senarii
nessotrophii	*periurii	psalterii	senii
notarii	philanthropii	*psimithii	septenarii
noxii	philonii	*psyllii	septennii
nummularii	phylacterii	puerperii	septizonii
nuntii	plagii	pulegii	*servitii
	plumarii	*puleii	*sestertii
oblaticii	podii	pyrrichii	sexennii
oblivii	*polii		*sextarii
*obsequii	polygonii	quadrivii	sicarii
obsidii	*polypodii	*quadriennii	*silentii
*obsonii	*pomarii	quartarii	*silphii
occipitii	*pomerii	quaternarii	smyrniai
octonarii	pontificii	quinarii	*socii
odii	*portorii	quindecennii	sodalitii
*officii	*postliminii	*quinquennii	solarii
oligochronii	praeconii		solatii

soli	subdiaconii	tetartemorii	vadimonii
solitarii	*subsellii	thesaurarii	vasarii
*solstitii	*subsidi	thymiaterii	vascularii
somnii	*suffragii	*tubicinii	vaticinii
spalangii	*supercillii	tirocinii	*veneficii
*spatii	superficiarii	*topiarii	*vestiarii
*sphondilii	superindieticii	transfugii	vestigii
*spodii	*supplicii	tribunarii	vicarii
stabularii	suspendii	tricennii	vicennii
stadii	suspirii	*trielinii	victimarii
stationarii		*triennii	viduvii
statuarii	tabellarii	*trifolii	*vitii
sterquilinii	tabernarii	trigonii	vulturii
*stibii	*tabularii	*tugurii	
stifadii	taedii	turarii	xenodochii
stillarii	*tectorii	tyrannicidii	xerocollyrii
*stipendii	tentorii		*xiphii
strangurii	tepidarii	unguentarii	
struthii	ternarii	urcii	zygostasii
*studii	territorii	usufructuarii	
suaviludii	*testimonii		

The following words apparently occur only in the contracted form in the genitive. The orthography follows the standard editions, not always the MSS.

alvari	cultrari	phalangi	stillicidii
anulari	curapalati	pleniluni	stipendiarii
amilustri	diribitori	primari	tauroboli
bissexti	exequiari	pulmentari	terunci
cantheri	falsiloqui	quinquefoli	tetraplasi
caerifoli	feretri	ricini	torculari
capitulari	interluni	rosaci	vestiari (m.)
caprifoli	iustiti	sacopeni	vigiliari
cauteri	laserpici	sambuci	vinari (m.)
cisi	leontopodi	sandarici	vinari (n.)
comiti	lignari	satyri	viridari
confeetorari	paraetoni	scammoni	vivari
coronari	pervigili	stibadi	

PROVENIENCE OF CERTAIN FORMS IN -I.

aedifici, Inscr. 4; Paul. Fest. 1.	amilustri, Inscr. 1.
aerari (masc.), Inscr. 3.	auspici, Cato 1, Fest. 1, Gell. 1.
albuci, Gloss. 1.	batrachi, Pliny 1.
alvari, Inscr. 11.	bdelli, Marcell. 1.
anulari, Inscr. 1.	bienni, Prosaists.
api, Pelag. 3, Pliny 11, Apic. 27.	biselli, Inscr. 5.
arbitri, Sen. Tr. 1.	bisexti, Inscr. 1.

- caementari, Inscr. 1.
 caerifoli, Col. 1.
 capitulari, Inscr. 2.
 caprifoli, Gloss. 1.
 cauteri, Pelag. 1, Pliny 2.
 collegi, Titin. 1, Prosaists.
 colloqui, Caesar 2, Suet. 1.
 collyri, Pliny 2.
 colophonii, Pel. 1, Marcell. 3.
 comiti, Pliny 1.
 concili, Inscr. 2.
 confectorari, Inscr. 1.
 congiari, Inscr. 1.
 coniugi, Sen. Tr. 2.
 conubi, Inscr.
 consorti, Ambrose 1.
 contuberni, Gloss. 1.
 coralli, Prosaists.
 coronari, Inscr. 1.
 cultrari, Inscr. 1.
 curapalati, Coripp. 1.
 denari, Pliny 15, Pelag. 1.
 desiderii, Hor. 1.
 deversori, Apul. 1.
 diluvi, Ambr. 1.
 dimidi, Censor. 1.
 diribitori, Pliny 1.
 elogi, Suet. 1.
 eloqui, Val. Max. 1.
 erici, Sall. 1.
 eryngii, Scrib. Larg. 1.
 euphorbi, Pelag., Marcell., Scrib. Larg.
 exequiari, Inscr. 1.
 exiti, Plaut. 1.
 falsiloqui, Claud. Mam. 1.
 fastidi, Plaut. 1, Pliny jr. 1.
 fastigi, Pliny 1.
 feretri, Jul. Val. 1.
 foli, Pliny 3, Apic. 4.
 gaudi, Ter. 1, Fronto 1.
 gladi, Inscr. 1.
 gymnasi, Plaut. 1, Catull. 1, Cic. 1.
 heliotropi, Pel. 1, Pliny 2.
 homicidi, Tert. 1.
 horologi, Pliny 1.
 hospiti, Fronto 1, Pliny jr. 1, Livy 1.
 ili, Catull. 1.
 infortuni, Plaut. 1.
 interluni, Pliny 1.
 iudicii, Prosaists 3, Inscr. 1.
 iurgi, Plaut. 1, Val. Max. 1.
 iustiti, Suet. 1.
 laserpici, Plaut. 1, Pliny 4.
 laticlavii, Porphr. 1.
 leontopodi, Pliny 2.
 librari, Fronto 1, Inscr. 1.
 lili, Pliny 12.
 liquari, Inscr. 1.
 litigi, Plaut. 1.
 loli, Pliny 1.
 loti, Catull. 1.
 lyci, Marcell. 2.
 magisteri, Inscr. 1.
 malicori, Pliny 1.
 marrubi, Pelag. 7, Pliny 3, Marcell. 3.
 martyri, Tert. 1.
 matrimoni, Pliny 1, Apul. 1.
 meconi, Pliny 1, Scrib. Larg. 1.
 melanthi, Cato 1.
 mercimoni, Plaut. 2.
 mili, Pliny 7.
 mini, Pliny 4.
 mortari, Cato 4.
 municipi, Pliny 2, Inscr. 4, Gloss. 1.
 nasturti, Prosaists.
 naufragi, Sen. Rh. 1.
 navigi, Pliny 1.
 necessari, Livy 1.
 obsequi, Inscr. 1.
 officii, Inscr. 2, Prosaists.
 omphaci, Pliny, Marcell., Scrib. Larg.
 opifeci, Varro 1.
 opi, Pliny, Marcell., Scrib. Larg.
 palli, Titin. 1.
 paraetoni, Pliny 1.
 parrieidi, Plaut. 1, Paul. Fest. 1, Sen. Rh. 10.
 patriei, Ennod. 1, Inscr. 1.
 patrimonii, Hor. 1, Inscr. 1, Firm. Mat. 1, Sen. Rh. 1.
 patrocini, Pliny jr. 1.
 perfugi, Plaut. 1.
 periuri, Plaut. 5, Ov. 1.
 pervigili, Luer. 1.
 phalangi, Pliny 1.
 pleniluni, Pliny 1.

- poli, Marcell. 1.
 polypodii, Pliny 3.
 pomari, Alc. 1.
 portori, Inscr. 1.
 postlimini, Digest.
 praedi, Varro 1.
 praetori, Suet. 3, Inscr. 3.
 prandi, Plaut. 1.
 primari, Fronto 1.
 primordi, Comm. 1.
 prodigi, Pliny 3.
 proeli, Sall. 2, Inscr. 1.
 profluvi, Pliny 1.
 proloqui, Claud. Mam. 1.
 prosceni, Suet. 2.
 proverbii, Pliny 1.
 psimithi, Pliny, Marcell., Scrib.
 Larg.
 psylli, Pliny 2.
 pulei, Scrib. L. 1, Garg. Mart. 1,
 Ser. Sam. 1, Mart. 1.
 pulmentari, Pliny 2.
 quadrienni, Censor. 1.
 quinquefolii, Pliny 7.
 quinquenni, Ennod. Sen. Rh., Sall.
 remedi, Luer. 1, Pliny 2.
 remigi, Luer. 1.
 ricini, Pliny 1.
 rosaci, Pelag. 1.
 sacerdoti, Pliny 1, Fort. 4.
 sacopeni, Pliny 1.
 sacrifici, Ov. 1, Paul. Fest. 1,
 Manil. 1.
 sacrilegi, Sen. Rh. 1.
 sandarici, Pliny 1.
 satyri, Pliny 2.
 scammoni, Pliny 1.
 scordi, Marcell. 1.
 semini, Varro 1.
 serviti, Acc. 1, Sall. 3, Apul. 1.
 sesterci, Paul. Fest. 1.
 sextari, Anth. 2.
 silphi, Pelag. 1, Apic. 5.
 soci, Sall. 1.
 solstiti, Pliny 4.
 spati, Livy 1, Cic. 1.
 sphondili, Marcell. 1.
 spodi, Pliny 6, Marcell. 1.
 stibadi, Pliny jr. 1.
 stibi, Pliny 4, Marcell. 4.
 stipendiari, Tac. 14.
 stipendi, Sall. 1.
 studi, Inscr. 1.
 subselli, Plaut. 2.
 subsidi, Plaut. 1, Ter. M. 1.
 suffragi, Pliny 1, Livy 1.
 supercili, Laev. 1, Sen. Tr. 1.
 tabulari, Ennod. 1.
 tauroboli, Inscr. 2.
 tectori, Pliny 2.
 terunci, Plaut. 1.
 testimoni, Ter. 1, Sen. Rh. 1,
 Gloss. 1.
 tetraplasi, Mart. Cap. 1.
 tibieini, Cic. 1.
 topiari, Vitruv. 1.
 toreulari, Cato 1.
 triclini, Lucil. 1, Pliny jr. 1.
 trienni, Cato 1, Sen. Rh. 1.
 trifoli, Pel. 1, Pliny 4.
 venefici, Prosaists 8, Horace 1.
 vestiari, Inscr. 1.
 vigiliari, Inscr. 1.
 vinari, Inscr. 2.
 viridiari, Inscr. 1.
 vivari, Inscr. 1.
 xiphi, Pliny 1.

USAGE OF AUTHORS.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p> Accius, benefici, consili, imperi,
 supplici, serviti.
 Acron, -ii numerous.
 Aetna, incendi, silenti.
 Ad Herennium, mostly -ii; filii,
 malefici, principii with MS.
 variance.
 Afranius, ingeni.
 Aggenus Urbicus, -ii numerous. </p> | <p> Alcimus, pomari.
 Aldhelm, -ii numerous.
 Ambrose, diluvi, consorti with MS.
 variance. No case in the 12
 hymns.
 Ammianus, -ii numerous.
 Ampelius, aerarii, commilitii, im-
 perii.
 Anthimus, puleii, apii. </p> |
|---|--|

- Anthology, negoti, oti (Auson.), tuguri; several in -ii.
- Apollonius of Tyre, tribunarii.
- Apicius, foli, absinthi, api, silphi; others in -ii.
- Apuleius, deversori, filii, serviti, matrimonii.
- Augustine, filii (also nom. pl.).
- Augustus, proeli, congiari.
- Ausonius, negoti, oti.
- Avianus, none in -i or -ii.
- Avienus, favoni.
- Caecilius Statius, viti.
- Caesar and continuators, auxilii, colloqui, viti.
- Calpurnius, none.
- Capitolinus, 19 in -ii.
- Carmina Epigr., filii, patrii, praetori, aerari; several in -ii.
- Cassius Felix, many in -ii.
- Cato, auspicii, veneficii; fluvii; the MSS. of R.R. have -ii, but Keil prints viti, trienni; preti, dolii with no comment.
- Cato (Dionys.), beneficii, arbitrii, consilii.
- Catullus, conchylii, filii, loti; medii, nuntii; ili and gymnasi conjectural.
- Celsus, 27 in -ii with many names of drugs.
- Censorinus, dimidi, quadrienni; several in -ii.
- Charisius, 5 in -ii.
- Chiron, bdellii.
- Cicero, municipii. Editors vary much between -i and -ii in spelling other words. Words are numerous: in speeches 61, philosophical works 30, letters to and from C. 53.
- Cicero, poet (Aratea), none.
- Cicero, Q., praesidi, aquari.
- Claudian, 20 in -ii.
- Claudius Mam., 11 in -ii.
- Codex Greg., iudicii, filii.
- Codex Herm., quinquenni.
- Codex Just., mancipii; several in -ii.
- Codex Theod., several in -ii.
- Columella, prose, 33 in -ii; poetry, balusti, marrubii.
- Comiei Incerti, auxilii.
- Commodianus, primordii; iudicii, martyrii, lolii, trennii; (filii, nom. pl.).
- Consentius, none except in examples.
- Corippus, imperii, ingenii, studii, eloquii; palati.
- Curtius, 15 in -ii.
- Cyprian, bienni; 36 in -ii.
- Damasus, martyrii, supplicii.
- Dares, consilii, imperii.
- Dietyis, 11 in -ii.
- Digest, adulteri, postlimini; many in -ii.
- Diomedes, ingenii, studii, filii, gaudii.
- Donatus (Ars), participii.
- Donatus (Comm. Ter.), many in -ii.
- Donatus (Comm. Verg.), filii; many in -ii.
- Dositheus, silentii.
- Dracontius, adulterii.
- Ennius, auxilii, consilii, dispendii, praesidi, exili, flagiti, negotii, praemi. In the Annals but two occurrences and with dubious MS. authority.
- Ennodius, filii, patrii, quinquenni, tabulari; 13 in -ii.
- Eumenius, 5 in -ii.
- Eutropius, 8 in -ii.
- Festus and Paul. Diac., aedificii, sacrificii, parricidii, dupundi, aerari, sesterti; several in -ii.
- Firmicus Mat., filii; 8 in -ii.
- Firmicus Mat. (Math.), patrimonii; many in -ii.
- Florus, 15 in -ii.
- Fortunatus, poet, sacerdotii; 22 in -ii; prose, filii; 29 in -ii.
- Frontinus, Strat., 6 in -ii; Agrim., dispendii, territorii, municipii, sacrificii; Aquaed., compendii; 5 in -ii.
- Fronto, ingenii, librarii, hospiti; (fere -ii, Naber p. 280).
- Fulgentius, Myth., 15 in -ii.
- Fulgentius (FCGF.), 15 in -ii.
- Fulgentius, St., ingenii.
- Gaius, filii, mancipii; 15 in -ii.
- Gargilius Mart., pulei; 11 in -ii.
- Gellius, ingenii, convivii; 50 in -ii.
- Germanicus, favoni; none in -ii.

- Glosses, officii, filii, negotii, testimoni, contubernii, municipii; 55 in -ii (plenii, theatrii).
- Grattius, plagii.
- Hieronymus, very many in -ii.
- Historians, horologi, Pliny; 5 in -ii.
- Horace, auxilii, consilii, desiderii, imperii, ingenii, negotii, otii, patrimonii, peculii, silentii, veneficii.
- Hyginus, Fab., filii, gladii, sacrificii.
- Hyginus, Grom., 7 in -ii.
- Inscriptions, actarii, aedificii, aerarum, consilii, iudicii, portorii, municipii, beneficii, filii, collegii, anularii, concilii, cultrarii, imperii, congiarii, coronarii, proelii, praesidii, praetorii, gladii, librarii, exequiarum, viridarum, vivarum, vinarum, studii, vestiarii; many in -ii.
- Isidorus, many in -ii.
- Jordanes, filii (and nom. pl.); 11 in -ii.
- Julius Valerius, feretri; studii, magisterii.
- Justinian, Inst., 28 in -ii.
- Justinus, 13 in -ii.
- Juvenecus, diluvii.
- Juvenal, coniugii, imperii, ingenii, officii, servitii.
- Laberius, negotii.
- Lactantius, many in -ii.
- Lampridius, 16 in -ii.
- Laus Pisonis, none.
- Laevius, supercilii.
- Leg. XII Tab., none.
- Liber Colon., territorii.
- Livius Andron., none.
- Livy, iudicii; many in -ii.
- Lucan, 12 in -ii.
- Lucilius, compendii, dupundi, triclina, cantherii, (otii?).
- Macrobius, sacrificii; many in -ii.
- Manilius, negotii, sagittarii, aquarii; dodecatemorii, studii.
- Marcellus, absinthii, opi, colophonii, euphorbi, marrubi, psymithii, omphaei, spondylii, stibii, spodi, scordi, poli; many in -ii.
- Martial, ingenii, iudicii, puleii; cybii, (exsilii?).
- Martianus Capella, ingenii, consilii, imperii, tetraplasi; 11 in -ii.
- Maximian, coniugii, discidii, exitii.
- Mela, ingenii.
- Metrologists, denarii, sestertii.
- Minucius Felix, 13 in -ii.
- Mirabilia Romae, sterquilinii.
- Naevius, ingenii.
- Namatianus, 5 in -ii.
- Nemesianus, none.
- Nepos, 12 in -ii.
- Nonius, convivii, officii, filii, studii, coniugii, navigii.
- Obsequens, praetorii, prodigii.
- Optatian, imperii, radii, principii, consilii.
- Orosius, 23 in -ii.
- Ovid, periuri, sacrificii; 34 in -ii.
- Pacuvius, compendii.
- Palladius Rutilius, 23 in -ii.
- Panegyrici, many in -ii.
- Paulinus Nola, tuguri; many in -ii.
- Paulus Julius, many in -ii.
- Pelagonius, many names of plants; MSS. have -i frequently where Ihm prints -ii.
- Persius, alli, ingenii.
- Pervigilium Veneris, favoni.
- Petronius, 20 in -ii.
- Phaedrus, ingenii, imperii, maleficii; pretii, iurgii, luscini, studii.
- Plautus, adulteri, alii, aucupi, auxilii, beneficii, commercii, compendii, consilii, convivi, divortii, exilii, fastidii, filii, flagitii, gymnasi, imperii, infortunii, ingenii, iurgi, laserpicii, litigi, maleficii, mendacii, mercimoni, negotii, obsonii, parricidii, peculii, perfugii, periuri, praemii, praesidii, prandi, pretii, subsellii, subsidi, supplicii, terunci, viti.
- Pliny the Elder, numerous occurrences of -i, following spelling of Bamb. and Mon. MSS.
- Pliny the Younger, aerarum, triclina, patrocini, hospitii, stibadi, fastidii; many in -ii.
- Pliny Med., 9 in -ii.
- Pomponius, flagitii.
- Porphyrion, 6 in -ii; laticlavii.
- Priapeia, aerarum, negotii, tuguri; supercilii.
- Priscian, 15 in -ii; consilii, collegii, peculii, tuguri, otii quoted.

- Propertius, gymnasia, imperii, ingenii, opprobrii.
 Prudentius, 9 in -ii.
 Quintilian, 32 in -ii; MSS. often vary.
 Rufinus, praesidi, filii quoted.
 Rutilius Lupus, 4 in -ii.
 Sallust, imperi, praesidi, ingeni, consili, aerari, benefici, malefici, auxili, soci, negoti, preti, serviti, bienni, flagiti, quinquenni, officii, stipendi, proeli, vestigi.
 Salvianus, 39 in -ii.
 Scribonius Largus, absinthii, opi, balausti, psimithii, omphaci, euphorbi, meconi, eryngii, pulei; 20 in -ii.
 Sedulius, 19 in -ii.
 Seneca, Phil., 46 in -ii; Trag., arbitri, coniugii, consili, imperii, supercili, ingeni; imperii, spatii, consilii, senii, exilii.
 Seneca Rh., bienni, trienni, iudicii, filii, adulteri, consili, negotii, patrimonii, officii, parricidii, naufragii, supplicii, ingeni, otii, viti, quinquenni, sacrilegii, imperii, veneficii; 29 in -ii.
 Sept. Ser., puerperii.
 Serenus Sammonicus, conchylii, pulei, absinthii; vulturii, coniugii, gladii, apii, marrubii.
 Servius, 46 in -ii; peculii, ericii quoted.
 Siculus Flaccus, superciliis.
 Sidonius Apoll., 72 in -ii.
 Silius Ital., auxilii, eloquii, fluvii, hospitii, imperii, ingeni.
 Solinus, silentii; 13 in -ii.
 Spartianus, 16 in -ii.
 Statius, augurii, auxilii, concilii, conubii, eloquii, fluvii, hospitii, imperii, ingeni, odii, officii, servitii.
 Suetonius, absinthii.
 Suetonius, aerarii, benefici, prosceni, bienni, mendacii, officii; 31 in -ii.
 Sulpicia, arbitrii.
 Sulpicius Severus, 26 in -ii.
 Syrus and Appendix, benefici, ingeni, silentii.
 Tacitus, filii, imperii, ingeni, (officii?); 54 in -ii.
 Terence, auxilii, benefici, consilii, filii, flagiti, gaudi, ingeni, negotii, otii, pretii, supplicii, testimonii, viti, praesidi.
 Terent. Maur., subsidi; exercitii, studii, iudicii, spatii.
 Terent. Scaur., none.
 Tertullian, homicidii, adsacrificii, martyri; 105 in -ii.
 Theodorus Prisc., 17 in -ii.
 Thiofredus, idoli, martyrii, monasterii.
 Tibullus, none.
 Titinius, collegii, consilii, pallii.
 Tragicus Incert., consilii, imperii.
 Trebellius Pollio, 5 in -ii.
 Turpilius, flagiti, praemii.
 Ulpian, divortii, filii, mancipii; 11 in -ii.
 Valerius Cato, none.
 Valerius Flaccus, adolquii, coniugii, hospitii, imperii.
 Valerius Maximus, 43 in -ii.
 Valerius Probus, 9 in -ii.
 Varro: LL., pomerii; 8 in -ii; RR., 9 in -i but MSS. have -ii; Sat., convivii, peculii, auxilii; convivii.
 Vegetius, 7 in -ii.
 Velleius Patere., 21 in -ii.
 Vibius Sequester, oblivii.
 Virgil, otii, peculii, tuguri, cisi; apii, fluvii.
 Virgil Gramm., ingeni, logii.
 Vitruvius, 34 in -ii (but mesolabi, topiarii, MSS.).
 Volusius Maecianus, 7 in -ii.
 Vopiscus, 14 in -ii.
 Vulcatius Gallus, 4 in -ii.
 Vulgate, 87 in -ii.

THEORY OF THE GRAMMARIANS.

Many of the following quotations are given in Neue's *Formenlehre* I³, 134 sq., but it may be convenient to have them arranged in a different order with some additions.

Charisius (GL., Keil, 1, 23, 17) illud memineris, quod omnia masculina quae ante us syllabam i habent, haec genetivo singulari eandem i litteram geminatam accipiunt.—item neutra quae ante um syllabam i habent genetivo singulari et dativo et ablativo plurali eandem i geminatam recipiunt.

Charisius (1, 71, 3) genetivus numero syllabarum minor esse nominativo non debet. quare magis denotati sunt qui maluerunt per unum i imperi et ingeni dicere quam secundum regulam imperii et ingenii, geminata i littera.

Charisius (1, 78, 4) Lucius et Aemilius et cetera nomina quae ante u habent i, duplici i genetivo singulari finire debent, ne necesse sit adversus observationem nominum nominativo minorem fieri genetivum; idque Varro tradens adicit vocativum quoque singularem talium nominum per duplex i scribi debere, sed propter differentiam casuum corrumpi. Lucilius tamen et per unum i genetivum scribi posse existimat. ait enim [Lucil. 1294 Marx] "servandi numeri et versus faciendi, nos Caeli Numeri numerum ut servemus modumque." numquam enim hoc intulisset, nisi et Numerium per i, huius Numeri, faciendum crederet. denique in libro VIII sic ait [Lucil. 362] "porro hoc si filius Luci fecerit, i solum ut 'Corneli Cornificique'" et paulo post [Lucil. 366] "pupilli, pueri, Lucili, hoc unius fiet," et Plinius quoque dubii sermonis V adicit esse quidem rationem per duo i scribendi, sed multa iam consuetudine superari.

Diomedes (1, 103, 7) genetivus casus singularis aut totidem syllabis constare debet quot nominativus eius—aut una syllaba excedere.

Priscian (2, 296, 20) hoc autem faciunt metri causa. numquam enim minores vult habere syllabas genetivus nominativo.

Probus (4, 8, 33) neutri generis plurima reperies quae genetivo casu aut una i aut duabus terminabuntur; tunc una, si ante um syllabam nominativus i non habuerit—si habuerit, genetivus duabus i terminabitur.

Probus (4, 105, 33) quaeritur qua de causa nomina per aliquos supra declinatos casus per duos i litteras reperiantur scribi. hac de causa quoniam quaecunque nomina generis masculini nominativo casu numeri singularis us syllaba post i litteram definiuntur haec—pari numero syllabarum oportet scribi.

[Probus] (4, 227, 22) necessarium esse existimo rationem horum nominum et declinationis exponere quae genetivi singularis vel nominativi pluralium i litteram ultimam debent duplicare. ea nomina quae nominativo casu singulari i litteram vocalem ante ultimam syllabam habuerint, in omni genere i litteram debent necessario geminare, non solum metri gratia sed etiam propter vitium barbarismi, et ut ne sit contra rationem nominativo brevior genetivus.

Donatus (4, 367, 19) nam i litteram geminari in una syllaba posse plurimi negant.

Consentius (5, 359, 20) quamquam a plerisque iam per unam i eferatur iste genitivus, ut 'et promissa Lavini moenia,' 'pauperies et tuguri,' 'nec cura peculi.'

Augustine (5, 498, 39) sed haec in genetivo per duo ii scribuntur, ut hoc ingenium huius ingenii.

Palaemon (5, 535, 17) quia genitivus minor esse non debet nominativo.

Terent. Scaurus (7, 22, 7) quoniam genitivus singularis non debet minorem habere syllabarum quam nominativus, quin immo interdum etiam maior fit.

Caper (7, 106, 15) ingenii profer, sic officii, quia nullus

a recto casu minor est <umquam> genitivus.

Cassiodorus from L. Caecilius Vindex (7, 206, 25) si autem Lucius Magnus magius proferantur, duo i in genetivo habebunt, Lucii Magnii magii quod ipsum Lucilium adnotavit cum a numero Numerius discerneret.

Beda (7, 251, 1) sed et hoc commemorandum, quia cum nomina quae in ius vel in ium terminantur duo i in genetivo habere debeant casu duarum aequae syllabarum, metrici non numquam in eodem genetivo casu unam syllabam ponunt pro duabus, vel ablata videlicet una i de duobus vel ambabus in unam syllabam geminatis, quamvis id fieri posse Donato teste plurimi negent.

Frag. Bob. (5, 555, 13) ne minorem eum habeat numero syllabarum, eum vel superare genitivus vel certe debeat adaequare nominativum suum—licet haec antiquitas per ἀποκοπήν, id est ablata i littera, enuntiavit, ut ipse de se Horatius 'vates, Horati—' Vergilius 'pauperies et tuguri,' item '—cura peculi,' item '—oti.'

Suet. De Diff. (p. 313 Roth), eum de arbitro loquimur arbitri dicimus genetivo casu, eum de arbitrio arbitrii.

Martianus Capella (3, 295) sed hoc animadvertamus quoniam quae in nominativo i ante ultimam syllabam habent in genetivo singulari item dativo et ablativo pluralibus eandem geminare debent ut lilium folium, quoniam genitivus aut pares syllabas nominativo habet ut scamnum aut plures ut caput capitis, pauciores numquam.—consuetudo et auctoritas veterum ingeni et consilii imperi per tres syllabas maluit dicere. [MSS. B' R have ingenii consilii imperii which perhaps should be written; cf. Beda (GL. 7, 251) dicit enim Paulinus 'oblectans inopem sensu fructusque peculii.']

To these may be added for the sake of completeness the following citations that contain no novelty of doctrine: Priscian, 2, 590, 6; Probus, 4, 19, 4; 4, 127, 14; 4, 207, 11; Victorinus, 6, 221, 5; Velius Longus, 7, 57, 7; Beda 7, 238, 11; Albinus 7, 304, 21; Frag. Bob. 7, 541, 15.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

In early Latin the double i was commonly contracted, not only in the genitive singular but also in the nominative, dative, and ablative plural. This was practised especially with words in very common use such as fili, imperi, consili, negoti. The original cause was the avoidance of doubled letters, and was also

economical. In the poets, as was noted by Priscian, metrical convenience had strong influence. In Virgil, *Aen.* 7, 38, *Latii* may have been avoided, and also *conubii* in *Aen.* 4, 168 (the latter cited by Wagner on *Aen.* 9, 151) although *connubii* was read in 22 codices. So *studii* may have been avoided in *Georg.* 3, 498. The theory that the genitive should not be shorter than the nominative seems due to Varro, and both he and Lucilius imply a varying usage in their times. The great majority of the words capable of such orthography are late and not in common use. The few used commonly by prose writers, that are better written with the single *i*, are the following:

aerari	fili	ingeni	peculi
auxili	flagiti	mancipi	preti
benefici	imperi	negoti	stillicidi
consili	incendi	oti	tuguri

and all others should be written with *-ii*.

Before the metrical literature began it is impossible to know whether the ending in *i* stood for one or two vowels; such forms as *eset*, for instance, postulate the repetition of *s*, and very likely the question did not become a pressing one for orthography until the Greek metres were introduced by Plautus and Ennius. Traces of this ambiguity survived until the latest times: *-ii* is written and *-i* pronounced. Even in modern Italian a single *i*, written *j*, at the end of words, represents *ii* (Fogolari, *Gram. Ital. Spr.*, p. 6). The fact that very many of the forms in *-i* or *-ii* occur at the end of the verse is not without significance.

Proper names have been omitted from this discussion: as is well known, these words were written with one *i* long after the *ii* prevailed in common nouns. In ornate prose, metrical reasons had the same weight as in poetry; and so far as the rhythm of prose is known the decision should be made accordingly, as has been done to a certain extent.

BENTLEY'S CANON.

Bentley, in his famous note on Terence, *Andria* II 1, 20, insisted that the spelling in *-i* alone was admissible in the poets to Propertius, and suggested that the early prosaists followed the same law. Bentley's dictum was defended at length by Suerdsiö in his book called *Vindiciae Praecepti Bentleiani* (Riga, 1832).

and his conclusions have been generally accepted ever since; to such a degree indeed, that a MS. reading in *-ii* has been regarded as *a priori* wrong.

Suerdsiö reviews all the passages in the poets before Propertius that seem to conflict with Bentley's principle. In Luer. 5. 1006 *I* attempted in *AJP* 28, 66 to defend *navigii*. Bracchi, 6. 434, is the only instance of *-i*, as Cic. Orat. 59 is uncertain. The Lucretian MSS. have *brachii*, but *brachi* is a metrical necessity. In 6. 743 the modern editors read *remigi oblitae* for the MS. *remigio oblitae*. Marullus emended to *remigii*. I know of no other example of *remigi*, and but one of *remigii* (Tac.). The introduction of the *-ii* here does not meet with greater difficulty than that of *-i*.

In Virgil, *Palladii* in Aen. 9, 151 has been very generally rejected with the whole line. No example of *palladi* is known. In Aen. 3, 702 *fluvii* has been questioned but is retained by very respectable editors. There is no example of *fluvi*, gen. sing., but *flovi*, n. pl., occurs in CIL 1, 199, 23. In Ennius Annals 341 *praemi* is read by all editors from Cic. CM. 1, 1. *Precii* or *pretii* is the reading of four manuscripts according to Vahlen's critical note and in many others as noted by Otto; and Ernesti followed Graevius in admitting it to his text. *Pretii* is one of the commonest words in *-ii*; *praemi* is quoted from two places in Plautus and from one in Turpilius only. In Plaut. Men. 135 it rests on an emendation of *pre mihi*; in Men. 1018 it is in the MSS. In Turpilius 209 the MSS. have *praemii*, and Ribbeck reads *obsequii* in the next line. Plaut., Asin. 505 has *imperii* as the MS. reading and the only thing that stands in the way of following it is Bentley's canon; *imperii* was read by early editors and *imperio* by the recent ones. *Infortunii* in Miles 865 has good MS. authority as well as *infortunum*; editors read *infortuni*, which is unexampled so far as I know; there are four instances of *infortunii*. In the Bacchides 651 the MS. variants are *consilii*, *consilio*, *consiliis*. The passage is lyric and variously constituted by the editors with *consili*, but it is conceivable that *consilii* may be right. *Gymnasii* is the MS. reading also in Bacch. 427, a line that has been variously rearranged, largely to avoid the *-ii*. The only other poetical occurrence of *gymnasi* is in Cat. 63, 64 where

the MSS. have *gymnasti* and the older editors *gymnasii*; that is the unquestioned reading in Prop. 3, 14, 2. It is singular that *imperium*, one of the most widely current words in the genitive singular, occurs but once in Plautus (Men. 1030), and there the MSS. have *imperii*.

In Terence *Andria* 320, the line to which Bentley appended his famous note, his and the accepted reading is *neque pol consili locum habeo neque ad auxilium copiam*. The MSS. have *consilii*, *auxiliis*; *consiliis*, *auxilii*, *auxiliandum*. The lemma of Donatus has *neque pol consilii* l. h. *neque a. e.* There are numerous occurrences of both *auxili* and *consili*. In the *Andria* 963, where *gaudi* is read, Donatus has *gaudii* in lemma; the only other occurrence of *gaudi* is in Fronto p. 96, 1 where Naber prints *gaudii*. *Oti* is read in Virg. G. 4, 564 and Hor. S. 1, 4, 138 where it is the last word in the verses, and in Ter. HT. 75 where the MSS. have *otii* with variations in word order allowing the ending. In Lucil. 1140 the line begins with *oti et*. *Loti*, that I know of only from Cat. 39, 21 where it is an emendation of *lotus*, also closes the line. *Adulteri* is cited from poets only in Plaut. Miles 90; there MSS. have *adulterii*; and in Poen. 918 is *alulpicique*, the very rare *alli* or *ali* occurring only in Pers. 5, 188 at the close of the verse, and *e conii* in Pliny 29, 133. *Fastidi* occurs in Miles 1034 and in Pliny the Younger. *Iurgi* occurs only in Men. 771 where several MSS. have *-ii* and the verse is uncertain; it may occur in Val. Max. 2, 1, 6. *Exiti* occurs only in Plaut. Poen. 918, and there the MSS. have *-ii*. *Litigi* is certain only in *Casina* 561 where the MSS. have *-ii* and the following word is *inter*. In Men. 765 it rests on a conjecture that is not now accepted. *Malefici* is an emendation in *Rudens* 1247; the MSS. have *maleficiis*; *triumvirate malificiis*. The only other occurrence in poetry is *Phaedr.* 1, 17, 1; in prose it is read in Sallust I. 31, 28, and by some in *Ad Her.* 2. *Mercimoni* occurs only in Plaut. *Most.* 904 where the MSS. have *-ii* and the verse a lacuna. *Obsoni* is found in *Aul.* 291 *obsoni hinc*, and *Bacch.* 131 *opsoni haec*; the MSS. have *-ii*; in Ter. *Andr.* 360 *opsoni ipsus*, the MSS. also have *-ii*; these are the only certain examples in poetry, and the only one in prose is in Pliny. In Plaut. *True.* 747 most MSS. have *obsonii* but the verse is very doubtful. *Parricidi*, *Rudens*

651, is certain and it also occurs once in Festus. *Perfugi* in *Casina* 623 is aided by the metre and by other words in *-i* in the line; it is the only known example of the form and I have found *perfugii* only in *Sid. Apoll.* once. *Prandi*, *Poen.* 1285, is probably correct although most MSS. have *-ii* and there is no other occurrence of the form; *prandii* is fairly common after Gellius. *Subsidi* is read in the very uncertain verse *Cist.* 502; the MSS. have *-ii*. The only other occurrence is in *Terent. Maurus. Testimonii* is read in *Ter. Ph.* 293 where it is defended by the metre if no other change be made in the verse. *Viti* is read generally in *Plaut. Rud.* 319 where the MSS. have *vitri* and the verse is uncertain; in *Truc.* 612 all MSS. have *viti et*, but in *Miles* 423 the MS. reading is *vitii* which is metrically possible. In *Ter. HT.* 1021 it is certain; in *Hec.* 154 it comes at the end of the verse, *-ii* in the MSS., and in *Hec.* 270 *-ii* is the MS. reading.

Nothing can be deduced from the rhythm of words ending in *-i*. The endings possible are *--*, *~* *--* of dissyllabic words; and *---*, *--~*, *~--* and *~--* of words ending in three syllables. Examples of *--* are *fili, oti*; of *~* *--* *preti, viti*; of *---* *commerci, compendi*; of *--~* *imperi, ingeni*; of *~--* *negoti, tuguri*; of *~--* *benefici, remedi*. The great majority of the words do not occur in poetry and hence it is difficult to draw any valid deductions, but on the face of things apparently words in *--* were most used with *-i*; iambic words are few, and next in rarity are spondaic words. Polysyllables in *~--~* contracted into *~--* are moderately common. Intervocalic *v* perhaps prevented *flūvī* for *flūvī*; *dīlūvī, dīvōrtī* and *gaudī* are rare; *brāvī* and *ōblīvī* are unknown, and *nāvīgī, sērvītī, and prōvērbi* doubtful. The iambic forms *atri, geni, medi, dubi, modi, radi, servi, stadi, labi, odi, soli, lani* (*lani* n. pl. *Ter. Eun.* 257 MS. A), *spoli* are unknown, and *studi, foli, and gladi* are very doubtful. The spondaic *doli, osti, savi* are not known. In trisyllables *exordi, mysteri, suspiri* do not occur.

In conclusion it is my opinion that in establishing the text of the authors before Propertius the MS. occurrences of forms in *-ii* should be considered admissible, and they should not be banished as *a priori* wrong in consequence of Bentley's canon. And surely very rare forms in *-i* should not be emended into the text as has been done more than once.

EPAPHOS AND THE EGYPTIAN APIS.

BY

IVAN M. LINFORTH.

In his account of Egypt and the Egyptians, Herodotus has frequent occasion to touch, directly or indirectly, upon matters of religious practice or belief, and it soon becomes evident to the reader that it is the historian's effort to reconcile the theology of Egypt with the theology of Greece. Though the peculiarities of Egyptian myth and ritual interest the Greek writer because of their very divergence from Greek habits, yet he feels unconsciously that the divine beings who are supreme over Egypt are identical with the familiar gods of Greece. Therefore one who is interested in Greek religious thought may justly expect Herodotus to betray, unconsciously, something of his own personal religious attitude, and something of the religious feeling of Greece at large, when he is using these familiar feelings and beliefs as a background against which to set off the strange religion of Egypt,—the thing which is consciously interesting him at the time. We may thus take him unaware, so to speak, and when he is recounting to us the marvels of Egypt, listen to the undertones of his voice which tell of a still more marvellous Greece.

This present study limits itself to a very humble member of the divine community of Greece, whom Herodotus identified with an Egyptian religious figure of greater distinction, and its purpose is to discover the reason for the identification.

I.

In the course of his description of the religious system of Egypt, Herodotus comes to that strange creature, the calf

Apis,¹ and, as he identifies Heracles, Dionysus, Hephaestus, and other Greek gods with the divinities of Egypt, so he asserts that the Greek name for Apis is Epaphos, with no word of apology or explanation. Now Epaphos is indeed an unfamiliar personage to the Greek reader,—half a dozen passages in the Greek books ordinarily read would be the sum of all the references to him,—and, furthermore, his personality is at the best hazy and unsubstantial. But Herodotus thinks nothing of identifying him with an Egyptian religious figure which is endowed with perfectly definite attributes. Either Herodotus must have known more definite features than we know in the personality of a Greek Epaphos, or he must have been simply recording the practice of the Greeks of his day, both in and out of Egypt, in saying that the calf Apis is called Epaphos in Greek.

So far as our information goes, the latter alternative must be the true one. The information given by extant fifth century authors about Epaphos is meager, and references in later writers add little that is new. Furthermore, with the exception of one vague reference in Ovid,² there is no evidence of any cult of Epaphos. It seems, therefore, fair to suppose that Epaphos in the Greek mind was in truth a "strengthless head," of whom there is little more to learn than we really know. But there remains that quiet identification with Apis which we find first in Herodotus, and there remains the fact that Epaphos's shadowy person bears a part in a legend which is not lacking in romantic features. Shall we not ask, Who was Epaphos? meaning, when we ask it, *What conception was attached by the Greeks of the fifth century to the name Epaphos? Whence came the conception? Whence the name? And how were they joined?*

Let me rehearse the events which are associated with the name Epaphos by fifth century writers.³

¹ ii 38, 153; iii 27, 28. In the last passage Herodotus says: "This Apis is the calf of a cow which can never again conceive. The Egyptians say that a flash of light from heaven falls upon this cow, and from this she conceives and bears Apis. Its distinguishing marks are these: it is black everywhere excepting one square of white on its forehead and the figure of an eagle on its back; it has double hair in its tail and the figure of a beetle under its tongue."

² Met. i 750.

³ Pindar, Pyth. iv 13 ff; Nem. x 5. Aesch. Suppl. 13, 41 ff, 172, 312, 315, 316, 535, 568 ff, 1065 ff; Prom. 664 ff, 673, 774, 813 ff, 846-856. Bacchylides xviii 39 ff. Herodotus *loc. cit.* Euripides, Phoen. 678 ff. Isocrates xi 10.

Io, who in Argos had won the love of Zeus and with it the hate of Hera, had been changed into a cow and driven from her home. After many wanderings she came to Egypt, there regained her human form, and gave birth to a son whose name was Epaphos. And his name, which signifies the "toucher" or the "touched," was in memory of the touching of Io by Zeus, either when he had begotten the child or when he had restored Io to her human shape. Epaphos grew, and came to be the ancestor of the Egyptian race and lord of the land. He founded many cities; and his daughter Libya gave her name to the country to the west of Egypt.

To this bare tale some other circumstances are added by later writers. His wife was Memphis, from whom the Egyptian city took its name;⁴ or his wife was Cassiopeia,⁵ that strange figure on the borderland of Greek and oriental legend. Other children he had,—Lysianassa,⁶ Thebe,⁷ Doros,⁸ Telegonos,⁹ Belos,¹⁰ and, by Euxia (daughter of the river-god Elis), Memphis herself.¹¹ Nonnus¹² gave him a sister, Ceroessa.

Two slight adventures vary the previously unbroken calm of his life. Hera in her anger ordered the Curetes to make away with the new-born infant. They obeyed, but were slain by Zeus for their pains. Meantime Io sought for her child, and found him in Syria, where he had been suckled by the queen of Byblos.¹³ According to another version, it was the Titans, not the Curetes, who had been set upon Epaphos by Hera.¹⁴ Again, Ovid says that Epaphos scornfully accused Phaethon, son of Helios, of being a bastard, and thus became the cause of Phaethon's disastrous adventure with the chariot of the sun.¹⁵ But Ovid tells the

⁴ Apollod. ii 10. Schol. Plat. Tim. 24 E. Tzetz. Lycophron 694.

⁵ Hyg. fab. 149. Schol. Stat. Theb. iv 737 (Lactantius Placidus, ed. Jahnke, p. 737).

⁶ Apollod. ii 116.

⁷ Schol. Il. ix 383.

⁸ Steph. Byz. s.v. Πυγμαίον.

⁹ Schol. Eur. Or. 932.

¹⁰ Serv. Verg. Aen. i 642.

¹¹ Schol. Ver. Verg. Aen. ii 82.

¹² xxxii 70.

¹³ Apollod. ii 9.

¹⁴ Hyg. fab. 150.

¹⁵ Met. i 750. Serv. Verg. Aen. x 189.

tale of Phaethon immediately after the tale of Io; he must find some link between the two; and Ovid never boasted of his accuracy as an historian.

II.

These are the facts about Epaphos, and from this evidence we must attempt to answer the questions proposed above. Several answers have already been given by scholars who have thought about the matter, and we must first consider what their explanations have been.

Buttmann¹⁶ expressed his belief that the name Epaphos itself is really only the Egyptian word Apis reduplicated and provided with a Greek termination. He presses the matter no further; but he implies that there was no Greek conception to which the name Epaphos belonged,—none, at least, till after the Greeks knew Apis and his name.

H. D. Müller¹⁷ takes a position quite the reverse of this, and expressly denies that the names Epaphos and Apis are identical. He claims that a more careful analysis of the myth of Io would show that Epaphos was a true Greek hero and had been Greek from the beginning. His theory, however, as it is developed, is really only a tissue of conjecture. He claims, in fact, that according to the early Argive genealogy the son of Epaphos was Danaos, and that all the names that come between the two in the familiar genealogy were later additions. This assertion is, I believe, unsupported.

The first thorough examination of the myth was made by Maass¹⁸ in a very learned paper in which the results are almost completely overlaid with erudition; and of his conclusions some are sound and valuable, some are insufficiently proved. It will be necessary to consider his results in greater detail.

He accepts the common etymology of the word Epaphos¹⁹ which has prevailed since the time of Aeschylus. It is composed of ἐπι

¹⁶ *Mythologus* ii p. 182 (in a lecture entitled *Mythische Verbindungen von Griechenland mit Asien*, delivered in 1819).

¹⁷ *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* (Göttingen, 1857-61), Erster Teil, S. 42 ff.

¹⁸ *De Aeschyli supplicibus*. Ind. Schol. Greifswald, 1890-91.

¹⁹ Fick-Bechtel, *Griech. Pers. Namen* (2d ed., Göttingen, 1894), pp. 449, 451.

and the root *ἄπ-* of *ἄπτω*, and means "toucher" or "touched." This derivation is philologically sound, and the assumption of a transfer of aspiration from *ἐφαπ-* to *ἐπαφ-* is also justifiable.²⁰ This being accepted, Maass first observes that whereas Epaphos does nothing to deserve the name, Zeus, his father, does; and from this he infers a *Ζεὺς Ἐπαφος*, who gave his name to his son (the possibility of the name of one god being taken from the epithet of another is, by the way, abundantly proved). If, then, *Ἐπαφος* is an epithet of Zeus, it must have been derived from some regular practice of Zeus, and not from a single occurrence. This regular practice Maass discovers to be the profession of the midwife, and proves most successfully the ancient belief in the obstetric value of the touch, or, as we should say, of massage. This is orderly procedure. But let me call attention to two facts: first, that we have no evidence for this very surprising connection between Zeus and midwifery; and, second, that if we had, there is absolutely no known reason why the son of Io should inherit the epithet any more than the countless other children of Zeus.

This is Maass's theory of the name. The myth he finds to be older than Hesiod and native to Euboea, both of which conclusions I feel unable to accept. His argument proceeds in the following manner. Apollodorus draws some of his information concerning the story of Io from Hesiod, as he himself informs us. The particular poem of Hesiod from which he took this material is *probably* the lost Aegimius. An extant fragment of Hesiod²¹ declares that Euboea was named from a cow; this cow was *probably* Io; therefore the quotation is *probably* from the Aegimius; the tale of Apollodorus, part of which is drawn from

²⁰ Aeschylus, too, derives *Ἐπαφος* from *ἐπι* + *ἄπτω*, but he vaguely explains the touch as being the one by which Epaphos was begotten or the one by which Io was restored to her proper form. It is not clear which alternative he preferred, because his words in the Suppliants and in the Prometheus are inconsistent and conflicting. The use of the word *ἐπιπνοια* by Aeschylus in several places is also unintelligible. Is it possible that he has heard some story of the ray of light by which Apis was begotten and was trying to work it into his etymology?

²¹ Fragm. 3 (Rzach):

νήσω ἐν Ἀβάντιδιδιη
τὴν πρὶν Ἀβάντιδα κικλήσκον θεοὶ αἰὲν ἔδντες,
Εὐβοίαν δὲ βοῶς τῶτ' ἐπώνυμον ὠνόμασεν Ζεὺς.

Hesiod, is *probably* to be located in Euboea; therefore Epaphos was born in Euboea according to the earlier version of the myth; and therefore, again, the invention of a son of Io, to whom was given an epithet of his father as a name, must be assigned to the Greek Middle Ages. In addition to the cumulative weakening effect upon this chain of evidence which comes from the repetition of the word *probably*, it should be noted, first, that there is no certainty that the cow of the Hesiodic fragment is Io (though I must admit that Lobeck²² and Meineke believed it to be), and, second, that Epaphos himself is quite unmentioned. The latter objection Maass attempted to forestall by the following. Strabo²³ speaks of a βὸς ἀύλη in Euboea on the Aegean coast, saying that Epaphos was born in it, and that the name of the island is derived from the fact. Therefore, according to Maass, Strabo must have derived his information from the Aegimius, which, therefore, must have contained a statement that Epaphos was born in Euboea. Observe here that while Strabo's words are undeniably sound, they prove nothing to the point, unless they can be made to justify Maass's theory that Epaphos was mentioned in the Aegimius, and this justification we can hardly accept. That the story of Io and the birth of Epaphos was located in Euboea in later times by several authorities is not to be denied, and is easily explained by the name of the island itself. The *Etymologicum Magnum*²⁴ speaks of the transformation of Isis (*sic*) into a cow, which took place in Euboea (the name Isis—instead of Io—is an indication of the lateness of the story), and Stephanus of Byzantium²⁵ says that Hermes slew Panoptes (*i.e.*, Argos) in Euboea.

From all this I am willing to accept as proved the fact that the story of Io and Epaphos was localized in Euboea in late times (Alexandrian or after), even that the story of Io herself, without Epaphos, may have been placed by Hesiod in Euboea, and, in fact, may have been native there. But what is not proved, and what is to Maass the essential point, is that Epaphos himself

²² Lobeck. *Aglaophamus* (Königsberg, 1829), vol. ii, p. 1131.

²³ x 445.

²⁴ S. v. Euboea.

²⁵ S. v. "Αργουρα.

had any association with Euboea before the later period in the history of the myth.

The whole structure of his argument, which seems to me most infirm, is propped by one or two other bits of evidence. Assuming, as he does, that the Aegimius told the tale of Io and Epaphos, he decides that either its author was ignorant of Egypt and said nothing of it, or, if he referred to the land at all, it was not the African Egypt, but another Egypt, which (triumphantly) must have been in Euboea. For, says Stephanus,²⁶ after speaking of the Egypt of Africa, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλη Αἴγυπτος μικρά. Again, another argument, no more substantial, is that the Curetes, with whom Epaphos is brought into connection, belong to Euboea, and that this story (again only probably) comes from the *Catalogi* of Hesiod. The third and last of these subsidiary arguments is that Epaphos's wife, Cassiopeia, proved his Euboean connection, because Cassiopa is the name of a city and promontory in Coreyra, an island which had once been Euboean!

Maass's conclusion, then, is that the whole story of Io and Epaphos was of Euboean origin, and that later, after Psammetichus had opened Egypt to the Greeks of Asia in the seventh century, it was transplanted to Egypt, where Io was identified with Isis and Epaphos with Apis.

The effect of Maass's argument is of course more convincing when taken as a whole than when each element is criticised separately; but I am certain that the several links in the chain are too weak to support the whole.

A Scandinavian scholar, J. Lieblein,²⁷ whose paper I have not seen, expresses himself in favor of the Egyptian origin of the myth of Io.

Ludwig Deubner²⁸ thinks that Epaphos is the creation of genealogists who were seeking to connect the later generations of the family with Io and Zeus, and that they named him Epaphos consciously in memory of the touch of Zeus which had restored Io to her human shape.

²⁶ S. v. Αἴγυπτος.

²⁷ Om Jo-mythen. Festschrift til hans Majestaet Kong Oscar ii. Christiania, 1897.

²⁸ *Philologus* 64 (1905), p. 486.

Gruppe²⁰ believes that the legend of Io and Epaphos is Euboean, that it was carried to Argos, thence to Rhodes, thence to Syria and Egypt. So much can be gathered from scattered observations in Gruppe's extensive work, but he devotes no space expressly to the legend of Epaphos.

III.

This, then, is what has been accomplished hitherto in the study of the myth. Now there are several points to which I wish to call attention. In the first place, it should be remembered that there are two distinct questions proposed: whence comes the *name* Epaphos? and whence comes the *myth* which is attached to the name?

That Epaphos should be merely a Hellenized form of the Egyptian word Hapi or Pe-Hapi, as Buttmann believed, is not likely, in view of the fact that the Greeks themselves made use at times of the very word Ἄπις to denote the Egyptian god. It seems that the name Ἐπαφος must have existed distinct from the name Ἄπις.

In regard to the myth, the truth seems to be the very opposite of that about the name. While Maass expends great pains to show that Epaphos is Euboean in origin, it remains true that the names and the circumstances in the myth are overwhelmingly Egyptian. There is not one real point of contact between Epaphos and Greece save that his mother is Io: the other names have at least as much of the Egyptian (or Phoenician) as of the Greek in them.

I venture to propose, then, that Epaphos, as we know him, is the calf Apis with a Greek *name* which had previously belonged to some other person or some other thing, and that Io had no son in Greek myth until the Greeks first heard of Apis. Then, when legend had made a son for Io out of the calf-god, this new mythical creation became quite anthropomorphic, and drew to himself, in a way which will be explained later, the few fragments of legend which have been mentioned above. And if, in casting about to discover some possible source for the name of Epaphos,

²⁰ Griech. Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte (München, 1906). See Register for references.

we recall the convincing argument of Maass about the obstetric value of massage, we do not have to look far. The most important goddess of childbirth is Hera, and Io is probably only a double of Hera. The word Ἐπαφος may well have been an epithet of the great goddess of Argos.³⁰

But, it will be asked, if Io had no son in the original Greek myth, how came the need of a name? In answer let me describe the course of events as I reconstruct them in imagination.

After Egypt was thrown open to Greek visitors and settlers in the seventh century by King Psammetichus, many Argives journeyed to the new land by the way of Rhodes and Crete. When they reached Egypt they heard of Egyptian gods with strange names, and proceeded to identify them with their own. Among them was the cow-goddess Isis, whom they quickly recognized as their own Io who had been changed to a cow and driven beyond the borders of Argos. They had never known before what had been the end of Io's wanderings, but here they discovered her in human form again and high in honor: here then she had found relief from her persecution. The Argives heard, too, of the strange calf-god Hapi, or Pe-Hapi, and asked themselves who it might be. The Greeks had no familiar calf-god, with whom to identify the Egyptian divinity; but the name Pe-Hapi recalled the old folk-name for Hera, Epaphos, and Io, who was Hera's double, was a cow; surely this Apis must be the son of Io, begotten of Zeus whose love had caused Io's ruin. That Apis should be made the *son* of Io should cause no surprise to any one familiar with the Greek mania for genealogy.

Thus the myth came into existence, and soon began to take into itself new elements.

Now the most prominent of these new elements is the assertion that Epaphos became a prince of the land of Egypt and the founder of many cities, among which Memphis is the one most commonly mentioned. This part of the story was well known, as we have already seen, in the fifth century. Maass leaves this accretion quite unexplained; for it must be seen that such an accretion is more remarkable in the case of a Euboean Epaphos

³⁰ For adjectives of two endings as epithets of Hera, cf. ἐπήκοος, ἡύκομος, λευκώλενος, χρυσόθρονος. Cf. also the name Κουροτρόφος.

than in the case of one who was purely Egyptian. And if it seem strange to any one that a Greek hero who is but a renamed Egyptian calf-divinity should become great in the land, let him observe, first, that the calf Apis was but a manifestation in the flesh of a great and eternal god, and, second, that it is more likely that the Epaphos who had been a calf should become a king, than that an Epaphos who was first a king should be identified with a calf. The explanation of the whole matter, I think, is this. The Greeks were always eager to discover, or invent, the sources of things, and human races they always traced back to the gods. It was not unnatural, then, for them to inquire from whom the black race of Egypt was sprung. In searching for the answer they could find but one possible course of descent from their own gods,—who were the *only* gods,—and that lay from Zeus through Epaphos who thus became the founder of the race.³¹ For it must have been their belief that when Io came into the land of Egypt down the course of the Nile, the land had never yet been visited by human foot, and that she brought with her the seed of the gods from which should grow the Egyptian race.³²

When Epaphos had been established as the progenitor of the Egyptians, it follows inevitably in Greek thought that he should be the founder of cities, and that Libya should be his daughter. But it has not been remarked, I think, that Memphis, the principal city which he had founded, was the center of the district in which the worship of Apis flourished. For in other parts of Egypt a calf was worshiped, but under another name. This fact itself is a significant bit of evidence in support of the organic connection between Apis and Epaphos.

It remains to explain the story of Epaphos and the Curetes, which Maass takes as evidence of the Euboean origin of the myth. For I hold that no real significance can be attached to the sundry names which were later brought into connection with the myth of Epaphos, and that the only explanation that need be offered

³¹ Cf. Aesch. Prom. 813 f and 846 ff.

³² The sacred name of the river Nile to which Egypt and the Egyptians owe their very existence is Hapi, identical with that of the calf-god. It is not unlikely that some story which told of the Nile as the source of the race should have been attached to Epaphos through confusion of the names.

for them is that they were the result of the welter of mythology which in Alexandrian and later times confounded all things. The story of the Curetes, however, has more definite substance, and I find it to be another argument in support of the Egyptian origin of Epaphos. In proof of this let me call attention to the two following points. First, though the bull Apis was at the beginning regarded as an incarnation of the god Ptah, yet "with the growth of the Osirian cult the dead Apis became, like the pious Egyptian, one with Osiris, the lord of the other world. His identity with Ptah paled and disappeared before his newer identity with Osiris. At first he was Osiris-Apis, . . . as guardian of the necropolis of Memphis; then as god also of both Memphis and Egypt in life as well as in death. Under the Ptolemies, Greek ideas gathered round the person of a deity who thus united in himself the earlier and later forms of Egyptian belief, and out of the combination rose the Serapis of the classical age, whose worship exercised so great an influence on the Roman world."³³

This identity between Apis and Osiris being established, consider the second point. The myth of Osiris contained the following incident, as we learn from Plutarch.³⁴ Set, the brother of Osiris, and called by the Greeks Typhon, plotted with seventy-two others against Osiris. They got him into their power, secured him in a coffer, and flung the coffer into the Nile. Isis, the sister and wife of Osiris, sought for the body and found it at last in Byblos. Now if we recall the myth of Zeus and the Curetes, and set it beside this myth of Osiris, on the one hand, and the legend of Epaphos and the Curetes, as told above, on the other, it can easily be seen that the story of Epaphos is merely a contamination of the myths of Osiris and Zeus, and was attached to the name of Epaphos in later times.

This theory which I have advanced would be completely overthrown if it could be positively proved that Epaphos was mentioned in Greek legend before the beginning of the seventh century. Such proof, of course, may be offered. But for the facts

³³ Sayce, A. H., *Religion of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia* (Gifford Lectures, Edinburgh, 1903), p. 113.

³⁴ *Isis and Osiris*. Cf. Frazer, J. G., *Adonis Attis Osiris* (London, 1906), pp. 212 ff.

as they are known at present, this hypothesis seems to me more tenable than that urged by Maass.³⁵ And besides Maass does not answer in any way the question of the origin of the myth, nor explain how this myth came to be attached to the name.

Herodotus, then, was not himself identifying Apis with a distinct Greek mythical personage. He was simply reporting the practice of the Greeks whom he saw in Egypt, and who used their own Greek name for the Egyptian god. They believed, of course, and Herodotus believed, that the name and the myth of Epaphos were both truly Greek; his Egyptian origin must have been forgotten for a hundred years and more.

NOTE.—Without entering into any discussion of the very puzzling myth of Io, I wish to call attention to one matter which may serve to throw some light on the tale. In the Prometheus,³⁶ Aeschylus says that an oracle told Inachos to drive his daughter out of his house and out of the land to wander *at large* (*ἄφετον*) at (*ἐπί* with the dative) the farthest limits of the country. This driving a cow, the animal sacred to Hera, beyond the borders, has very much the appearance of an aetiological myth to explain some old expiatory rite resembling the Athenian *pharmakos* ritual and the Hebrew ceremony of the scape-goat. The word *ἄφετον*, as Weeklein observes (*ad. loc.*), is used technically of animals which are allowed to wander at large in the enclosure of the divinity to whom they are sacred. Thus the myth of Io in its earliest form would have ended at the departure of Io from Argos. Later, the story of the banishment, together with the existence of such names as Bosphorus and Euboea, would introduce the idea of the wanderings, which would then be extended through pure imagination. Finally Egypt would be recognized as the resting-place of Io as soon as Isis became known to the Greeks.

³⁵ The words of Aelian (*nat. anim.* xi 10) seem to show that he had practically the same theory of Epaphos as I have advanced: *καὶ Ἕλληνες μὲν αὐτὸν [Apis] καλοῦσιν Ἐπαφον, καὶ γενεαλογουσὶν οἱ μητέρα Ἰὼ τὴν Ἀργεῖαν τὴν Ἰνάχου* ("the Greeks call him Epaphos, and in the established genealogy make him the son of Io of Argos, the daughter of Inachos").

³⁶ 664 ff.

STUDIES IN THE TEXT OF LUCRETIVS

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL.

During the last generation a movement in the criticism of Latin authors has been going on with increasing force, which has emphasized the individuality and personal character of the Latinity of the separate writers. Formerly a standard of perfection was set up, and by this standard of normal Latinity or of perfection of technique authors were tested: the roughnesses were smoothed away, the strange grammatical usages were emended out of the text, logical inconsistencies were removed in various ways, and the vocabulary was purged. Hofman Peerkamp in his criticism of Horace marked the climax of the method. But in the latter half of the nineteenth century the school of the Young Grammarians insisted upon consideration of psychological laws in syntax, with corresponding variation in individual writers; and Woelfflin and others established to a greater degree the personal grammar, so to say, of many authors. No longer may we dismiss an *et* in the meaning 'also' with a superb "et pro etiam displicet"; no longer may we change presents to imperfects in order that the ideal of the sequence of tenses may be observed. Anyone who has given close attention to the received texts of Latin authors must have noticed the hundreds of emendations made by the humanists which have been accepted by succeeding editors; in many cases without serious thought, because on the surface the change seemed necessary to bring the reading into harmony with standard Latin. And in the pre-Ciceronian authors this is especially noticeable; with them grammar was unsettled, many words had been newly created or

were dubious in character; sentence structure had not been standardized, periodology was all but unknown. One need only turn over the pages of such a collection as Bruns' *Fontes Iuris* to comprehend the difference between the ordinary Latin of common life and the artificial Latin of the stylists.

The task of an advocatus diaboli is naturally invidious, and yet in defending some of the readings of the Lucretian codices I have felt that in our desire to establish the text of Lucretius on certain ground it is necessary to weigh anew the evidence that can be brought for the correctness of the manuscript reading, that, over and over again, has been dismissed by scholars from Marullus down with little hesitation. If the attention of Lucretian scholars shall be drawn to the passages discussed and to the principle involved, the object of this investigation will have been attained.

The conservative position in the constitution of texts is unquestionably the ruling one today, although bitterly opposed in some quarters. Rothstein supports readings in his Propertius (1898) that would have aroused Lachmann's haughty wrath, and almost any Latin Teubner of the last fifteen years, as compared with its predecessor, shows the same tendency. For it must not be forgotten that when the reading of the archetype has been firmly established, the burden of proof falls on the innovator; and even if the novel reading is four hundred years old, still it is a change, and as a change must be justified. And emendations of the archetype must be necessary, cogent, and unavoidable, and not merely desirable or pretty or neat; they must not be admitted if by any reasonable possibility the original text can stand. The authority of such great Latinists as Lambinus and Lachmann has deterred lesser men from abiding by the reading of the Lucretian archetype; Munro, who was quite their equal, in his successive editions manifested increasing courage, and had he lived twenty years longer he would have progressed still further. Brieger in 1894 was still more conservative, and Giussani in 1896-98, and Bailey in 1899 continued the movement. The next task in the constitution of the Lucretian text is grave consideration of every reading of the archetype in the light of modern psychological linguistics.

- 1, 71 naturae primus portarum claustra cuperet; cupiret O
corr. edd.

There is no evidence of cupēre, but there is variation in conjugation between fulgēre and fulgere: 2, 27; 6, 160. Aegrit is the MS reading in 3, 824, requiret in 3, 919, fervescet in 3, 289, and resolvet in 6, 695. It is not impossible that the classification of some verbs was unsettled in Lucretius' time; some examples are given by Lane, *L. G.*, 1000. Cuperent occurs in 5, 169. Appariret is the MS reading in 2, 1110.

- 1, 111 aeternas quoniam poenas in morte timendum; timendumst Lachmann.

So in 5, 302 putandumst Lachmann for putandum; 5, 44 atque pericula sunt ingratis insinuandum, where I prefer insinuanda to tumst . . . insinuandum of the editors. In 2, 468 nec tamen haec retineri hamata necessu, necessumst Lachmann, write necessus; in 2, 710 necessust. In any case, if the copula must be retained, necessust should be preferred to necessumst. Lachmann approves omission of the copula in 1, 627, 963; 2, 39; 3, 543, 796; 5, 140. To these may be added 2, 1, 87, 338; 5, 1238; 6, 130 noted by L. on 5, 836; 2, 194; and 3, 431. In 2, 1089 quam genus omne quod his generatim rebus abundans Lachmann changed his to est, Bernays, Munro, Giussani, and Bailey to hic, Brieger to hine, and all insert a copula. The Oblongus MS read generat in, the Quadratus habundant, whence Marullus abundat. The true reading was hic with no copula. In 3, 203 nunc igitur quoniam animi natura reperta, the Itali inserted est either after quoniam as in 3, 130, or after reperta, since hiatus in caesura is doubtful in Lucretius. In 3, 415 incolumis quamvis alioqui splendidus orbis is changed by reading sit, linquatur, splendeat, alioquist, incolumist, but the verb is unnecessary. Leo, *Sen. Trag. Observ. Crit.*, 187, gives many examples of the omission of the copula in subordinate clauses. In 6, 746 si forte lacus substratus Averni, est has been inserted unnecessarily. So in 1, 525 alternis igitur nimirum corpus inani | distinctum, quoniam Lachmann properly disregards the insertion of the copula by Lambinus and others. In 4, 636 OQ

have est which is omitted by most modern editors. As Servius on *Aen.* 11, 230 quotes 1, 111 with *timendum*, *timendumst* could not have been read in his time, especially as *petendum mihi est equum* immediately precedes. It is impossible with fidelity to the codices to lay down any rule less vague than Madvig's, *L. G.* 479a, "est and sunt are often omitted . . ." and *Obs.*, "In the poets est is often left out in a rather striking manner."

1, 207 *aeris in teneras possent perferrier auras; possint editors* after Lactantius, because *semine quando opus est rebus quo quaeque creatae* is the line above; but *possent* may be due to *creatae*. So in 4, 824 *lumina ne facias oculorum clara creata | prospicere ut possemus*.

1, 240 *nisi materies aeterna teneret | inter se nexus minus aut magis indupedita; so the old vulgate and Lambinus 3; nexu Itali*.

Indupediri is absolute in 4, 70. *Materies disiecta tenetur 2, 939; nexa teneri 2, 405*.

1, 257 *fessae pecudes pinguis per pabula laeta; so Cartault, Valk. Editors after Philargyrius pingui*.

Fessae pecudes pinguis may be compared with 1, 898 *vicina cacumina summa; 2, 600 veteres docti poetae*. In 5, 295 *claraeque coruscis | fulguribus pingues multa caligine taedae*.

1, 585 *denique iam quoniam generatim reddita finis | crescendis rebus constat vitamque tenendi; Q corr. crescendi*.

The dative may be defended by 1, 551 *si nullam finem natura parasset | frangendis rebus; 1, 203 materies quia rebus reddita certast | gignundis*. Asymmetry is not unusual in Lucretius: 1, 75 *quid possit oriri quid nequeat; 4, 1190 si bello animost et non odiosa; 6, 1023 haec quoque res adiumento motuque iuvatur*.

1, 611 *non ex illorum conventu conciliata; ullorum Marullus; illarum Breiger*.

Partibus precedes in 610. The doctrine of the *minimae partes* is doubtless one of those that the poet had in mind in 1, 136 *nec me animi fallit Graiorum obscura reperta | difficile inlus-*

trare Latinis versibus esse. Ullorum implies non compacta ex principiis variis in caelum coeuntibus, as Creech paraphrased, but this is inconsistent with recent investigations. Illarum agrees with the theory as now understood, but Lucretius has a strange dislike for illarum, harum, and earum. Illorum may be retained as referring either to cacumina or to minima, since these underlie the whole discussion; minimae partes is equivalent to minima. L. is careless of his syntax when elucidating a difficult point, e.g., 2, 216 seq.

1, 683 ignis enim foret omnimodis quodcumque crearet; crearent Lambinus.

L. seems to mean, whatever fire produces will be fire. Bockemueller was right in retaining crearet; 690 dicere porro ignem res omnes esse neque ullam | rem veram in numero rerum constare nisi ignem.

1, 711 magnopere a vero longi derrasse videntur; longe Vat. 3275.

In 4, 1176 and 6, 68 Lachmann notes the same error, and there the correction is necessary; and he insists that longi here would refer to tallness of stature or length of stride or length of speech. Lucretius, however, often uses adjectives for adverbs: 3, 250 postremis datur ossibus; 4, 478 primis ab sensibus esse creatam; 1, 385 si cita dissiliant; 2, 359 crebra revisit; 5, 33 acerba tuens; 5, 764 menstrua dum rigidas coni perlabitur umbras; 6, 1084 ceciderunt mutua contra; 2, 787 possit res tota nitore; 5, 201 inde avidam partem montes possedere; 1, 294 rapidique rotanti turbine portant. In 1, 504; 2, 106, 334, 645 longi is excluded by gender or number, but in 3, 69 it could stand.

1, 747 corporibus facient; faciunt Marullus.

In 2, 920 quod tamen ut possint, at coetu concilioque | nil facient praeter volgum turbamque animantum, the only other occurrence of facient in the poem. In 3, 948 the MSS have perges, retained by Heinze, where editors read pergas. Here the meaning may be "they will have no end, etc." (Lane, *L. G.*, 1620).

- 1, 775 quippe suam quisque in coetum variantis acervi | natu-
ram ostendit mixtusque videbitur aer; quicque, coetu,
ostendet, editors.

Quicque is probably a necessary correction. In coetum may be defended by 1, 966, in omnes partes infinitum omne relinquit, and by other examples of in partes or in partem, and also by 6, 399, neque possit in hostes. The preposition here implies motion—"in making the union." So in with the accusative occurs in 3, 574 in eos . . . concludere motus; 2, 512 liquidas existere in auras; 2, 796 neque in lucem existunt primordia. The shift from ablative to accusative and the reverse is a subtle one and depends wholly on the point of view of the writer. Ostendit is present of a general action: 1, 317 signa manus dextras ostendunt adtenuari. So in 3, 919 requiret as a future is properly retained by Blase, *Hist. Gr.*, 3, 122, although quiescunt follows, and also, with some editors, 2, 656 constituet . . . mavolt.

- 1, 784 hinc ignem gigni terramque creari | ex igni, retroque in
terram cuncta reverti; imbrem imbri a
terra, Marullus and editors except Pascal, who, accepting
a terra, shows that ignem igni agrees with Herac-
litus 76 D.

- 1, 1076 aequis ponderibus motus quaecumque feruntur; aequae
Marullus.

As the passage is fragmentary, it is safer to make no change.

- 1, 1082 res in concilium medii cuppedine victae.

Victae is retained by Munro, Giussani, Bailey, Pascal; vinc-
tae Bentley, Creech, Bernays, Brieger; vectae Lachmann. Cup-
pedine victae is highly poetical and should be read.

- 1, 1091 quod calor a medio fugiens sibi conligat omnis; se ibi
Wakefield; ibi Lambinus.

Se ibi must be read, because Lucretius, although using many
verbs absolutely, always has an object with colligere.

- 1, 1105 neve ruant caeli tonetralia templa superne; tonitralia
Lambinus, penetralia Niccoli.

As tonitralia is unexampled, tonetralia, the reading of the MSS is only one step farther in difficulty and should be retained. There is a tonesco and a collateral tonēre in Varro. All the forms of the perfect stem of tonare could be referred to tonēre.

- 2, 46 tum vacuum tempus lincunt curaquē solutum; pectus
Lambinus.

Lambinus insists that tempus would mean temples of the head. Faber keeps tempus as equivalent to vitam. 3, 23 neque ulla | res animi pacem delibat tempore in ullo; Cic. *Rep.* 1, 14 omne tempus est ad meos libros vacuum; *Ad Att.* 2, 23, 1 cum vacui tempus nihil haberem.

- 2, 112 cuius uti memoro rēi simulaera et imago; simulacrum
Itali.

The only other occurrence of the singular simulacrum in the poem is in 4, 149. 4, 1063 sed fugitare decet simulaera et pabula amoris.

- 2, 160 in quam coepere locum conexa feruntur; conixa
Veronensis;

- 2, 268 ut studium mentis conexa sequatur; conixa Gifanius.

Connectere is frequently used by Lucretius, and the question at issue is between the working together and the union of the parts. In 153 he says nec singillatim corpuscula . . . sed complexa meant; and in 251 motus conectitur omnis; 266 omnis enim totum per corpus materiai | copia conciri debet; 274 materiem totius corporis omnem . . . ire rapique. Connexa has lately been defended by F. M. Foster in *Class. Journ.*, 5, 171. Conixa in 268 should probably still be read.

- 2, 193 sponte sua facere id sine vi subiecta putandumst; subi-
gente, subeunte, subiectante, subitaque editors.

Postgate keeps subiecta, comparing Virg. *G.* 4, 385. The participle must refer to flammarum corpora 187; if they are

placed below the tigna trabesque, some force must make them rise. To be sure, ignes in 191 has intervened and the construction is one according to sense: 6, 185 nubibus—lata—nubila—nubibus. For sine vi cf. 5, 1145 defessum vi colere aevom; 6, 518 nubila vi cumulata; 6, 541 volvere vi fluctus.

2, 289 sed ne res ipsa necessum; mens Lambinus.

Boeckmueller keeps res, which includes mens and everything else. Nothing is bound by internal necessity, owing to the clinamen, and res forms a far better antithesis to omnia 288. It must not be forgotten that mens, like everything else, was a *thing* to Epicureanism: cf. 3, 94 sq, 175, 424 quatenus est unum inter se coniunctaque res est. He could have used mens corresponding to 260, 265, but that also is quiddam in 280.

2, 313 quapropter ubi ipsum | cernere iam nequeas; ipsa Gifanius.

The reference is to primorum natura; ipsa would refer to prima, ipsum to primum. Primum for primordium Lucretius does not use. The periphrasis with natura is very common in the poem (*Amer. Phil. Assn.*, 22, xxxiii). In 1, 505 utramque refers to natura duarum rerum. Lucretius usually refers to atoms in the plural; semen in the singular is used several times collectively but not in the sense of a separate atom. Corpus is probably used in the singular in 1, 600, 606; 2, 484, 490, but all these passages are obscure. Materies is his translation of ὑλη. Primordium, exordium, principium, elementum, corpusculum, radix, and primum do not occur in the singular in the meaning "atom." Now if the MSS had ipsa here, there would be nothing to say, but ipsum probably takes up primum implied in primorum natura which he used in order to avoid primum; ipsum referring to this primum is perfectly natural. Ipse is used very loosely at times: Lactantius *Inst.* 3, 2 philosophia est ut nomen indicat ipsique definiunt studium sapientiae. Lucretius is careless with other pronouns: 3, 235 eius natura . . . eum; 2, 174 genus humanum . . . quorum.

2, 325 fulgor ubi ad caelum se tollit; ibi Marullus.

The parallel passage from Iliad B 457 permits either reading. In 3, 870 *ubi videas* is followed in 879 by *cum proponit*; 4, 272 *cum*, 279 *ubi*, 283 *ubi*, 294 *cum*, 333 *cum*. In the section 5, 1028-1090 there are found *cum* 1032, *tum* 1037, *cum* 1038, *tum* 1041, *cum* 1059, *cum* 1061, *cum* 1063, *cum* 1066, *cum* 1067, *ubi* 1068, *cum* 1071, *ubi* 1074, *cum* 1077, *cum* 1082, *ubi* 1085, *cum* 1088, 6, 188 *cum*, 191 *ubi*. The emendation *ibi* was probably made to bring in a locative to correspond with that in the illustration immediately preceding of the sheep grazing on a hill; and indeed to take *ubi* as temporal is harsh. Yet it may be locative as in 1, 171. *Ibi*, locative, is rare in L.; in 1, 1072, 1091 it rests on emendation; in 2, 1046; 3, 976 it seems certain; there are other places where it is hard to distinguish the locative and temporal meanings. If *ubi* be retained as locative, verse 331 will contain the apodosis.

2, 343 *squamigerum pecudes et laeta arbusta feraeque; armenta edd. Lond.*

We are here dealing with Lucretian phraseology. *Laeta arbusta* occurs in 2, 594, 699, 994; 5, 921; *laeta armenta* never, nor is the word applied by him to animals. On the other hand, *arbusta* is never used in close juxtaposition to *pecudes* and *ferae* as *armenta* is in 1, 163; 2, 921; 4, 1197; 5, 228. But in 2, 994 occurs *parit nitidas fruges arbustaque laeta | et genus humanum, parit omnia saecula ferarum*; and in 1, 188, 821 *fruges arbusta animantis*. Again, there is no reason in this passage for the inclusion of trees, but in 371 he mentions *frumentum* in illustration. Hence the balance seems delicately poised and therefore the MS reading should be retained.

2, 347 *quorum unum quodvis generatim sumere perge; quidvis*
Lachmann from 4, 126 *quorum unum quidvis leviter si*
forte duabus.

Quidvis also occurs in 1, 556; 3, 556. *Quid* is read by emendation in 1, 619; 3, 1050; 4, 1118; 5, 1224, and is the MS reading in 6, 188. *Quod* is generally retained in 5, 134 = 3, 790, and is unquestioned in 4, 118. In 3, 1013 Lachmann reads *quid* for *qui*. In Harper's *Lexicon* under *unus* II B there are ex-

amples of unum aliquod, unum quodque; and there is read in Cic. *Caec.* 62 quivis unus, Ter. *And.* 904 una harum quaevis causa; the vulgate before Lachmann read quodvis also in 4, 126; but, as I shall show later, Lucretius is not bound to scrupulous consistency in style and usage. Granting his variation from himself, there seems no cogent reason for abandoning the MS reading here. He has quodvis frumentum 2, 371, minimum quodvis tempus 3, 606.

2, 533 nam quod rara vides magis esse animalia quaedam |
fecundumque magis naturam cernis in illis; minus Lach-
mann.

In 4, 1225 the MSS have magis, accepted by Lachmann, Munro, Giussani; but minus Lambinus, Brieger, Bailey. So far as the comparison goes, it makes little difference whether magis or minus be read. The repetition of magis occurs in 6, 100-101, and the contrast with minus in 3, 546-7; 1, 240; 2, 1035-6; 5, 623-4, 629, 631, 633; 6, 1009-1012, 727-8-9. Minus is repeated in 3, 925-6, 1091-2, 727-8; plus aut minus occurs in 5, 572. If the reading of the codices be retained, Lucretius says "as to the fact that some animals are more rare in some places and more productive (in others), that is not surprising, because in other places they are numerous, and in others (541 sq.) rare." It can not be doubted that minus gives an easier reading; here as elsewhere the question is whether the MS reading can be retained.

2, 536 sicuti quadripedum cum primis esse videmus; sicut
Bentley.

In 3, 816 sicuti OQ is retained by Bernays, Brieger, Heinze, Giussani, but the verse is omitted by Lachmann and Munro: in the repetition 5, 361 OQ have sicut. Lachmann shows in his note that sicuti before a consonant can not stand except in archaic authors, and this case is probably one of Lucretius' archaisms.

2, 586 et quaecumque magis vis multas possidet in se; quod-
cumque Lachmann.

Earlier scholars emended the verse in various ways. Quaecumque may stand for quaecumque res, taking up the neuter quidquam: there are numerous cases of the contrary usage, and I have collected some examples in my note on 1, 57. So 5, 1414 posteriorque fere melior res illa reperta | perdit et immutat sensus ad pristina quaeque; 5, 277 corpora retribuatur rebus recreetque fluentis; 3, 424 quatenus unum inter se coniunctaque res est; 2, 718 sed ne forte putes animalia sola teneri | legibus hisce, ea res ratio disterminat omnis, unless the reading of Lambinus—*eadem ratio*—is right.

2, 742 nam cum caecigeni solis qui lumina numquam | despexere; dispexere Avancius, adspexere Lambinus.

Most editors make similar changes in 4, 418 and 4, 421; in 6, 648 *dispiciendum* is certain. Wakefield defends *despexere* here at length. There is much confusion in other authors also in regard to *de-* and *dispicio* and other compounds of *de* and *dis*. Here *despicere* seems to mean "look out on" while *dispicere* would be "look with an effort" or "look through" or "see through all parts" or "look out," a meaning not called for here. So *deambulo* means "walk out," *dearmo* "arm out," "disarm," *deascio* "rub out," *debellare* "war out" and so on. The metaphor *oras in lumina exit* 1, 170, *effert in luminis oras* 1, 179, *visentis luminis oras* 2, 577, all aid in this interpretation. Again, how can the blind from birth ever look with an effort, when they have never, and can never look at all? Wakefield cites Cic. *Fin.* 4, 64 *catuli qui iam despecturi sunt* where editors emend, and also Cic. *Rosc. Amer.* 22. "The blind who have never looked out on the light of the sun" calls for *despexere*. Lucretius compares the eyes to doors in 3, 360, and the comparison of the senses to windows occurs in Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 146. In 3, 564 there is no variant: *scilicet avolsus radicitus ut nequit ullam | dispicere ipse oculos rem scorsum corpore toto*.

2, 759 e quibus omnigenus gignunt variantque colores; omne genus Lachmann.

Lachmann cites *omnigenus* from Varro *R.R.* 3, 5, 11 and 14. So in Lucretius 2, 821 and 4, 735 *omnigenus* is the reading of

the codices. In 1, 1026 OQ have omne genus, and in 5, 428 where the verse is repeated, omnigenus. In 5, 440 Q has omnigenus, O omnigenis. If omne genus had become an adverbial compound and pronounced under one accent, the e in omne would be weakened to i, as is shown by the late adjective omnigenus and by other compounds of omnis. Lucretius has omnimodis, omniparens, omnipotens, omnituens. The reading before Lachmann in 2, 759 was omnigenos. The variation between 1, 1026 and 5, 428 leads to the conclusion that both omnigenus and omnegenus as adverbial compounds were in Lucretius' vocabulary. Primigenum 2, 1106 and multangula 4, 654 show the poet's facility in composition.

2, 760 praeterea magni quod refert semina quaeque; propterea Marullus.

Lambinus retained praeterea, placing 759-761 within parentheses. Praeterea occurred in 757, and elsewhere in the poem the word is repeated: 6, 616, 627; 2, 342, 367, 795, 817; 6, 470, 476, 616, 627. If the poem were a finished work, very likely the author would have written propterea, but the incompleteness points rather to Lambinus' conservatism.

2, 765 cur ea quae nigro fuerint paulo ante colore | marmoreo fieri possunt candore repente; possint Lambinus.

Cur introduces the subjunctive in 1, 645; 5, 730, 731, 753, 759, 762, 769, 1043; the indicative in 1, 174, 199, 358; 2, 820; 3, 476, 482; 6, 390-421.—all direct questions. Possunt was retained by Wakefield, but possint is unquestionably called for by normal syntax. It is barely possible that the indicative is an archaism here, in which case the preceding fuerint must be regarded as an indicative also. In 1, 981 OQ have quaeram quid telo denique fiet. Cf. *Thesaurus* IV 1446, 41.

2, 806 caudaque pavonis largo cum luce repleta est; larga Q corr.

There is no certain example of lux, masc. in the poem, but only one of luci, abl., 4, 235. The adverbs are large, 3, 22; 5, 233, and largiter 6, 622, 1113. It is possible that largo is an

adverb here; a form largitus occurs also in Afranius and Apuleius. Lucretius has longe, longum and longiter, crebra and crebro, multum and multo, nimium and nimio, primo, primitus and primum, quanto and quantum, qui and quod, raro, repens and repente, retro, tuto, verum, vero and vere, vulgo.

2, 814 nec refert ea quae tangas quo forte colore | praedita sunt; sint Marullus.

Here again Wakefield retains the indicative with the earliest editors. Sunt would be an archaism. Lucretius has the subjunctive everywhere in indirect questions, except in 1, 981; 2, 765, already discussed.

2, 815 scire licet nil principiis opus esse colore; colores Nonius, Lambinus, and editors except Boeckemueller.

Lachmann's proposal to read opus est sumptus in Plaut. *Bacch.* 707 has not been accepted. There is no other example of the accusative with opus, and Nonius is too untrustworthy an authority to be followed always. Lucretius uses color, sing. 46 times, plural 15, not including 2, 815. He has the singular with reference to a singular object in 2, 1030; 4, 95, 266, 1094; 6, 205, 526, 1074; in the singular with reference to plural objects in 1, 767; 2, 501, 503, 679, 734, 737, 737, 736, 743, 747, 755, 757, 764, 775, 776, 793, 797, 813, 818, 823, 825, 832, 838, 842; 4, 74, 80, 167, 243; 5, 785, 941, 1257; 6, 208, 722, 1112, 1188; in the plural with reference to a single object in 2, 807; 6, 213; in the plural with reference to plural objects in 2, 418, 759, 783, 786, 789, 821, 1005; 4, 492, 493, 707; 6, 812. The word is used without reference to an object, in the singular in 2, 749, 798, 811, 828; 4, 1033; in the plural 2, 795; 5, 740. It occurs in reference to a particular color or colors in the singular in 2, 501, 734, 736, 749, 764, 775, 776, 793, 811, 813, 823, 825; 4, 167; 5, 785, 941, 1258; 6, 208, 722, 1074, 1188; in the plural in 2, 418, 759, 783, 786, 795, 807, 821, 1005; 4, 492, 493, 707; 5, 740; 6, 213, 812. In 2, 815 the reference is to a plural object: Lucretian usage in this matter is 34 for the singular against 10 with the plural. The singular, moreover, is defended by 2, 737, 755 and 842. I omit 3, 267 where calor OQ should be retained.

2, 850 quod licet ac possis reperire; quo ad Lambinus.

Quo ad occurs in 5, 1213, 1433. The same change is made in 5, 1033 quod possit abuti. Quod is equivalent to quatenus in 2, 248 quod cernere possis. The construction with quod is common enough: Cic. *Fam.* 14, 4, 6 cura quod potes; Munro gives several examples in his note on 2, 248. It is difficult to see why the MS reading should be abandoned here and Lucretius be held to Virgilian standards in his vocabulary.

2, 909 aut similis totis animalibus esse putari; simili Lachmann, similia, Marullus.

Owing to the lacuna after 902, it is not altogether certain to what similis refers, but on the face of things it apparently refers back to haec aeterna 907 and those words to visceribus nervis venis in 905. But the meaning is more likely to be sed tamen esto iam posse haec <mollia corpora> manere <animalibus> nempe tamen <animalia> debent aut sensum partis habere aut <partes> similes <sensu> totis animalibus esse putari. Creech's paraphrase is "concedamus vero haec sensilia principia immutabilia et aeterna esse posse, nempe debent habere aut sensus alicuius unius partis, aut putari similia totis animalibus"; Munro in his abstract has "now suppose such elements external; they must have the sense of some part or of the whole living thing." The early editors saw a difficulty in the gender, having in mind principia which calls for similia, but partes is the important word and it is written in the lines before and after. And in 913 and 914 there is again the contrast between pars sola and totis animalibus. In 1, 605 is similes ex ordine partes, and partes must be supplied in 1, 607; pars occurs in 1, 1112 and parte must be supplied in 1113. Maxima pars est consimilis occurs in 2, 1017. In 3, 548 mens est hominis pars velut aures atque oculi sunt atque alii sensus. In 4, 117 tertia pars refers back to animalia in 116. Cases like 4, 292 quae dextera pars est . . . fit ut in laeva <parte> videatur need no comment; so 6, 368; 5, 595; 1, 604, 651; 3, 758; 1, 630, 509; 1, 607, 630.

- 2, 929 *intempestivus quom putor cepit ob imbris; intempestivos Marullus.*

Intempestivus is a natural epithet of *imber* and there is agreement of the adjective in 2, 873 *putorem cum sibi naetast | intempestivis ex imbribus*, and in 6, 1102 *ubi putorem umida naetast | intempestivis pluviisque et solibus icta*. There is no doubt as to the logical agreement, but Lucretius often puts the adjective with the wrong noun: 5, 252 *multa pulsata pedum vi*; 1, 1002 *volueri ritu flammaram*; 1, 10 *species verna diei*; 3, 309 *naturae vestigia prima*; 2, 213 *transversosque volare per imbris fulmina cernis*. The rhythm *vus cum* is more in Lucretius' style than *-vos cum*; cf. 898. Of 142 cases of *eum* in the poem the rhythm *u-u* occurs 27 times, *o-u* 13, *u-o* 3. If we write here in the antique manner *intempestivos quom*, then it could be defended by no example of the 141, unless indeed we should generally write *quom* for *cum*, and then the quantity of the vowels would not agree. Lucretius is fond of assonance with *u* in other words. For the lengthening of *-us* nominative cf. 3, 1044; 5, 205, 587; 6, 849. There are many examples of strange hypallage collected by Friedrich in his *Catullus*, p. 138, quite foreign to our modern style. So *avidam partem* in 5, 201 may be defended.

- 2, 1000 *in terras et quod missus ex aetheris oris; missumst Lactantius.*

This evidently is a case of the archaic and vulgar writing of *-us* for *-um*. So in 2, 710; 4, 1006; 6, 206 *necessust* is for *necessumst*; in my note on 2, 710 I have collected examples from Plautus, Terence, and the Inscriptions. The metre demands the addition of *est*: write *missust*. In 2, 468 we should read *necessust*, MSS *necessu*, editors *necessumst*, where Lachmann thought *necessust* possible. See above, on 1, 111.

- 2, 1029 *quod non paulatim minuant miraliter omnes; mirarier Itali, cf. 4, 289; mittant Lachmann, cf. 6, 1056; renuant Boekemueller; linquant Richards cf. 6, 654.*

Minuant is retained by Munro and Bailey. The *Oblongus* has *miralier*; *miraliter*, of course, would be unexampled.

Lucretius uses adverbs in -ter freely: acriter, audacter, breviter, duriter, fluenter, *genitaliter, graviter, inconstanter, innumerabiliter, insatiabiliter, *insedabiliter, largiter, leviter, (longiter), mobiliter, *moderanter, pariter, *permananter, praecipitanter, *praeproperanter, *praemetuenter, procliviter, properanter, uniter, vehementer, vitaliter; those *ἄμαξ* are starred. Furthermore, he uses but once acriter, breviter, duriter, inconstanter, innumerabiliter, mobiliter, praecipitanter, properanter; hence, so far as Lucretian usage goes, miraliter could be admitted. Mirabiliter is admissible in the hexameter but is not used by, nor cited from, other poets; he uses mirabile instead. The verse preceding is nil adeo magnum neque tam mirabile quicquam; magnum and minuant are contrasted and mirabile and miraliter: "naught is so great nor so wonderful that all will not gradually in wondrous wise belittle it." Minuo occurs several times: 2, 68 quoniam minui rem quamque videmus. The sequence magis, magnum, mirabile, minuant, miraliter, from 1027-1029, may be compared with magis, mirabile, minus, miranda in 1035-1037. Minus est mirum occurs in 5, 799. Lucretius was undecided about the adverb: he has mirande 4, 419, 462, an unexampled form; miraliter postulates *miralis, after the analogy of mortalis, penetralis, pluralis, talis, vitalis.

- 2, 1102 saepe suas disturbet et <in> deserta decedens; in and recedens Lactantius Inst. 3, 17, and Lactantius also has ipse for saepe.

Little importance should be given to Lactantius' quotations; he misquotes from Lucretius 1, 83, 931; 2, 14, 1000, 1001; 3, 1044; 5, 51, 808; 6, 24, 25, 27; and is more likely to be wrong than right in small matters. Probably he depended on his memory. Lucretius uses forms of recedere 22 times but not recedens, and he has forms of decedere 5 times, but not elsewhere decedens. Close parallels to this verse are 3, 400, 436 discedit in auras; 4, 914 discedas; but discedere and recedere were to him synonyms, as appears from 3, 938 recedis and 3, 960 discedere, both of retirement from life. Alliteration at the close of the verse is very common: re- re- occurs in 1, 410; 2, 1128; 4, 65, 695, 737, 860; here he wrote decedens instead of recedens,

his more usual word, for the sake of alliteration: 2, 352 *deum—delubra decora*; 2, 738 *denique dispar*; 5, 1387 *deserta—dia*. So with other present participles, he keeps the alliteration at the close of the verse in 3, 396 *claustra coercens*, 5, 575, 693 *lumina lustrans*.

2, 1116 *donique ad extremum crescendi perfica finem; extremam* Lachmann.

Elsewhere *finis* is feminine in Lucretius, although the masculine is the rule in classic authors. Lucretius has unusual genders of *funis*, *sal*, *accipiter*, and *cinis*. It is worthy of remark that in the other case of doubtful gender of *finis*, 1, 555 *conceptum summum aetatis pervadere finis*, the adjective has the same metrical position, as if the poet by the arrangement of words gave a hint of exceptional usage. The meaning of 1116 is *donique ad extremum, natura creatrix rerum, perfica finem crescendi, omnia perduxit*. This strange construction is due to *perfica*; *perficiens* he does not use. The same thought occurs again in 1130 *donec alescendi summum tetigere cacumen*. So he has *invida* but once, 1, 321, where it is probably equivalent to *invidens*; *trepidus* he has but twice, but *trepidare* eight times, *trepidans* not at all. *Indigus* does not appear before Lucretius, *indigens* was excluded by the metre. It is this latent verbal idea that helps to justify *avidam* in 5, 201 *inde avidam partem montes silvaeque ferarum | possedere*, i.e., *magnam quasi cupide sibi raptam*, as Eichstaedt explains it. *Ad extremum* may be compared with *ad unum* 1, 987 and the frequent *ad nilum*.

3, 94 *primum animum dico mentem quem saepe vocamus; quam* Charisius.

Lachmann compares 99 *habitum quandam . . . harmoniam Graii quam dicunt*; 4, 132 *in hoc caelo qui dicitur aer*; 6, 297 *igneus ille vortex quem . . . vocitamus nomine fulmen*; 4, 369 *aer id quod nos umbram perhibere suemus*; 6, 701 *crateres . . . quod fauces perhibemus et ora*; 3, 139 *consilium quod nos animum mentemque vocamus*; 1, 58 *quae nos materiem et genitalia corpora rebus . . . appellare suemus*. Munro adds 3, 555

homine illius quasi quod vas esse videtur and 1, 432 quod quasi tertia sit numero natura reperta, and notes that Cicero would have written quem here. That a scribe should have corrupted quam into quem is highly improbable; quem is the more difficult reading and the rhythm and ordinary Lucretian usage would demand quam; OQ must have quem because Lucretius himself wrote it, for 94 is the beginning of a paragraph that is to explain animus. The order mentem quem, instead of quem mentem with its infelicitous repetition of sound, points in the same direction. "Animus," mind, the leading principle, this strong masculine and masterful element that people call sometimes by a feminine term "mens," the thinking principle. In 117 he describes anima and in 130 ψυχῆ just as in the next paragraph he begins with ψυχῆ and goes on to animus and afterward anima.

3, 633 auditum per se possunt sentire neque esse; haud igitur Lachmann; auditu Havercamp, Munro, absque anima Lambinus; Gifanius and Wakefield kept auditum.

Lachmann shows plainly enough that aud may represent haud or haut, which nobody would deny; but he gives no proof whatever for itum = igitur. The only difficulty with the MS reading is for auditum sentire to equal audire. The expanded expression would be at neque sorsum oculi <possunt esse> neque nares <possunt esse> nec manus ipsa esse potest animae; neque sorsum lingua <potest sentire neque esse> neque aures auditum per se possunt sentire neque esse. Auditum sentire means to have the sense of hearing. Sentio sonitum occurs in Plaut. *Curc.* 156 and sentire sonare Lucr. 4, 229. He uses sentire with all kinds of words: vis 5, 1033, odores 1, 298, adhaesum 3, 381, nebulam 3, 383, itum 3, 388, calorem 4, 267, duritiem 4, 268, sucum 4, 617, tempus 1, 462, dolorem 3, 646, particulam 4, 260, speculum 4, 283, vestigia 3, 389, colores 4, 492. In 4, 494 is seorsus item sapor oris habet vim, seorsus odores | nascuntur, sorsum sonitus; there sonitus corresponds to aures auditum sentire possunt here. The MSS also have anima, not animae, in 632, which was retained by Wakefield. Seorsum is used with the ablative in 3, 564, and is strengthened by an ablative clause in 3, 551 veluti manus atque oculus naresve seorsum secreta ab

nobis nequeunt sentire neque esse. Lachmann cites 43, where animi is now read with the Oblongus, and 288 calor ille animo.

3, 710 ex illa quae tunc periit; tum Brix.

So also in 1, 130 tunc cum, Flor. 31 tum, but there are many examples of tunc cum in the lexicon; 6, 250 tunc per, tum Lachmann. He says on 1, 130 that the reading of Q in 1, 426 is tunc porro and in 4, 455 tunc vigilare. In 5, 1019 tunc et, 5, 1419 tunc esse, 1473 tunc igitur and 3, 923 tunc ille are unquestioned readings. Tum occurs before b in 4, 449; before c in 4, 275; 5, 1399; 6, 526, 1243; before d in 1, 698; 3, 57; 4, 919; 5, 888, 911, 1169, 1397; before f in 1, 393; 4, 680, 1166; 5, 943, 1026, 1273; before g in 1, 493; 5, 1014; before i in 5, 855; before j in 5, 1397; before l in 1, 492 *e coni.*; before m in 5, 1037, 1404; 3, 600; before n in 3, 376; 4, 922; 5, 1041; before p in 1, 316, 392, 298, 426, 520, 599; 2, 594, 673, 788, 886, 926; 4, 829; 5, 222, 1007, 1262; 6, 129, 623, and 5, 399 *e coni.*; before q in 1, 157; 3, 504; 4, 1030; 5, 69, 990; 6, 162; before r in 2, 44; 4, 892; before s in 3, 919; 4, 444, 957; 5, 432, 467, 1397; 6, 1182; before t in 5, 790, 805, 837, 942; before v in 2, 47; 6, 1153. Of the examples before p, tum porro occurs 11 times, tum portas, putat, penetrabat, penuria, praeterea each once. There are but two examples of tum before per: 6, 129 tum perterricrepto, and 5, 399 tum percitus, where the codices have cum. Tum is very rare before per; in Ter. *Adelph.* 235 tum persequi, there is a variant cum. Further investigation may show an avoidance of tum per for some reason, probably rhythmical; there are no Latin words beginning with tumper or tupper; the form toppe was abandoned early.

3, 732 sollicitae volitant morbis algoque fameque; algoque Nonius.

In 5, 747 the codices have algi, Lachmann algor, Lambinus albus, Wakefield algu; and in 3, 623 algor is unquestioned. In Plaut. *Most.* 193 fameque atque algu, *Rudens* 582 algu, *Vid.* 16 algu famem; Lucil. 1218 algu; Accius 111 algu et fame; Varro *Men.* 171 algu. It is very strange that the copyist here

should have written *algo* when *algu* with *fame* was so common. Nonius quotes the four passages from Accius, Varro, Lucilius and Lucretius, not as examples of *algu* for *algo*, but of *algu* for *alгоре*; that is, the contrast of *algu* and *algor*. As is well known, Nonius was very careless at times, some have said even stupid; hence his testimony on a small matter like this should have little weight. There was much doubt whether *algu* or *algo* was the proper nominative, and it is conceivable that the proper ablative was not settled any more than with *domo* and *domu*, *lauro* and *lauru*, *colo* and *colu*, *cupresso* and *cupressu*, *myrto* and *myrtu*; cf. Lane *L. G.* 595. There was much confusion between the second and fourth declensions and there are other traces in Lucretius: thus in 3, 941 *offensost* but 2, 438 *offensu*, and the strange *altu* in 3, 132. But in the 71 words used by L. where there might be fluctuation between *o* and *u* in the ablative there is no further sign.

3, 740 *neque consensu contagia fient; consensus* Lachmann.

Lambinus explains *neque per consensum fient contagia*; inferior MSS have *tum sensu, cum sensu*. This is the only place in the poem where *consensus* occurs, but the ablative seems defensible by 2, 915 *vitali ut possint consentire undique sensu*; 3, 168 *praeterea pariter fungi cum corpore et una | consentire animum*; 3, 800 *una consentire*; and just above, 3, 734 *et mala multa animus contage fungitur eius*. Even Creech, whose interpretation is commended by Lachmann, "*neque ita corpus et anima consentiens et motus vitales sibi invicem mutuo impertirent*" retains *consensu*. Yet it is more probable that *consensu* is a dative: "*connections leading to mutual sensation*" an extension of such uses as 6, 771 *multa cibo quae sunt*, 5, 1357 *agricolae donec vitio vertere severi*. There is no exact parallel in the poem, nor is there any for *consensus contagia*, for *contagia morbi* 3, 471 is not sufficient. For the form of the dative cf. *usu* 3, 971, and for Lucretian preference for dative over genitive, my note on 3, 294.

3, 800 *quippe etenim mortalem aeterno iungere; mortale*
Marullus.

In the preceding verse is animam distractam in corpore toto; mortalem would refer to this animam. The general conclusion does not come until 804 quam mortale quod est immortalis atque perenni. Aeterno then would be the same as aeternae naturae in 641. This is the only place in the poem where aeternus is used alone except in 2, 570 neque in aeternum sepelire salutem. Wakefield retained mortalem, sc. hominem, as he made a new paragraph with 800. Of course the change to mortale is most easy paleographically.

3, 856 tum motus materiai | multimodi quam sint; multimodis
Lachmann, who denies the existence of an adjective multimodus.

Friedrich, on Cat. 115, 4 totmoda quotes Apul. *Met.* 5, 25 voculas omnimodas, *Apol.* 75 omnimodis conlurcationibus, *Met.* 10, 29 multimodas ambages, *Flor.* 16 gratiam multiugam, 18 totiuga invitamenta, *Apoll. Sid.* 2, 13, 8 multimoda suspiria; and Ellis, *Fronto P.* 24 N. omnimode. Wakefield retained multimodi here but noted that a British Museum MS had multimodis. The lexicons also give *Amm.* 24, 2, 13 and *August. Conf.* 10, 17 and 34. The real question is how early such an adjective may be recognized. The agreement of the Latinity of Apuleius and Lucretius has often been noticed. There are other words of similar formation: multangulus 4, 654, multannus, multicola, multifructus, multigenus 2, 335, multiloquium, multinodus, multinummus, multipes, multiradix, multisonus, multivorantia; cf. Stolz, *Hist. Gr.* I 377. I discussed omnigenus 2, 759, above. Multimodis is read eleven or more times in the standard texts of Lucretius. Lachmann rightly maintains that in 4, 1155 multimodis can not be taken with deliciis in 1156. The indirect question here is similar to that in 2, 335 multigenis quam sint variata figuris, and there is no example of multimodis in such syntactical connection; this, to my mind, substantiates multimodi as a predicate adjective. There are other examples of motus in subordinate clauses: 4, 176 quam celeri motu simulacra ferantur; 5, 1209 vario motu quae candida sidera verset; 5, 509 motibus astrorum nunc quae sit causa; 5, 530; 6, 535; 2, 242, 316, 896.

3, 893 urgerive superne obrutum pondere terrae; obtritum Marullus.

Obtritum is defended by Catullus 65, 7, and Wakefield cites confusion of the words in Livy 1, 11, 7; 3, 56, 8; 34, 5, 9. Lucretius has obrūtus in 4, 926. The vowel must have been long originally, as appears from the juristic phrase *ruta caesa* where Varro, *L. L.* 9, 104, expressly says the quantity was *rūta*; the word for spade was *rūtrum* and its diminutive *rūtellum*. The use of *ruo* as transitive is archaic and poetical, but it occurs at least five times in the poem, and *L.* has some compounds of the word in exceptional and unusual meanings. It is possible that the original quantity is retained here: "whelmed by weight of earth"; cf. Livy 1, 11, 7. *accepti obrutum armis necavere*; Sen. *Ben.* 4, 6 *inmane pondus omnibus locis obrutum*.

3, 941 *vitaque in offensost; offensu est Lambinus; offensast, Brit. Mus. MS, Brieger.*

Offensus in various cases occurs in 2, 223, 438; 4, 359; 6, 333; but there *offensus* is technical in the meaning *occursatio*, *ἀντικοπή*. Here it means *offensio*, *taedium*. The noun *offensum* occurs in Cic. *Inu.* 1, 92, but *offensa* was the common word. So in 1, 384 *de concursu* is the reading of the codices, although *concursum* occurs in 6, 161, 172.

3, 954 *aufer abhinc lacrimas baratre; balatro Heinsius.*

Barathrum occurs in 966, *barathrum* edd., and in 6, 606. Marullus read *barde* here, and Bentley in *Hor. Sat.* 2, 3, 166 read *balatrone* for *barathrone*; Bockemueller even reads *barathrum* here. Lambinus quotes Thomas Magister, *βάραθρος, βάραθρου ἄξιος ἄνθρωπος*, and Creech from Ammonius Moschopolus, *ἄλθρωπος βάραθρος ὁ ὀλέθρου ἄξιος*. *Balatro* is not a common word, and we can not argue here that, as the word in common use, the unusual *baratre* should be replaced by it; moreover, the thought is not "jester," "buffoon," "harlequin," but something far more severe. Of course, *l* and *r* were easily interchangeable, but no one has suggested such a correction in *barathrum*. The character addressed in 939 is "stulte," but the grandior seniorque in this passage Nature "inclamat magis

et voce increpat acri"; the term of address to the culprit must be far beyond stulte; in 963 she "iure increpat incilatque" the offender. Bailey translates balatro by "rogue," Munro by "rascal," Watson by "wretch," Good by "vile coward"; all of them are inadequate. The person addressed is a wornout wordling, an exhausted devotee of pleasure, a man on the edge of the grave and about to go down into the pit—barathrum; "death's head" is what the poet had in mind. You have exhausted life, the poet says, and are now rotten; life has nothing more for you, you have got to go, necesse est, 965. And in 966, the poet, with his usual indifference to using words in different meanings, adds nec quisquam in barathrum nec Tartara = in barathrum Tartarorum. Our knowledge of the vocabulary of abuse in Latin does not permit us to depart lightly from the MSS. In Lucian *Pseudol.* 17. ἀπατεῶνα γόητα ἐπίορκον ὄλεθρον κύφωνα βάραθρον; the last word may be masculine; at any rate, the passage shows the company the word keeps.

3, 994 curpedine; cupedine Q corr., cuppedine Pontanus.

In 5, 45 cuppedinis is read for MS cuppedines and it also occurs in 6, 25: 1, 1082; 4, 1090 cuppedine; 4, 1153 cupidine. The emendation turpedine here is an easy one and is found in some inferior MSS and early editions, but it has no probability. Is it possible that curpedine is a vulgar form? He has surpere for surripere in 2, 314 and metathesis of r is common in many words. The development may have been cup-, cupp-, curp-, and was doubtless influenced by other words that contain rp, like turpis and its compounds. How far we ought to go in admitting vulgarisms in Lucretius is unsettled; of one thing, however, we may be sure, and that is that few Latin authors are as chaste in style as they were thought to be forty years ago.

3, 1044 exortus ut acrius sol; aetherius Lactantius.

Lucretius has aetherius sol in 5, 215, 267, and he uses the word also with nubes, cavernis, oris, auras, ignibus, and nubibus; he has acrius with volucres, auras, undas, and partibus mundi. The quotations of Lactantius are not always exact, as I have shown above on 2, 1102. The sun, according to one reading, is

in the heavens, and, according to the other, in the air. Wakefield says that *aerius sol* is here "qui in aera emergit ex oceano," and *aetherius sol* "qui medium caeli peregritat," but he refutes himself by *Aen.* 8, 68 *aetherii spectans orientia solis lumina*. This is a typical case where the manuscript tradition has been overruled for a much better reading, but which after all is conjectural. In other authors there is frequent confusion between *aerius* and *aetherius*, and in *Lucr.* 3, 405 Lachmann read *aerias* for *aetherias*; in 5, 501 Q has *aetherias*. Lachmann has much on this matter in his note on 3, 405.

3, 1069 *ingratus haerit et odit; ingratis Lambinus.*

Ingratis occurs in 5, 44; 6, 15; but in 6, 216 *ingratus* is the reading of the codices. *Ingratis* does not occur before Lucretius. *Ingratus* is supported by *aerius* 289, and *longius* 676, 789; it has been defended by Postgate, *Journ. Phil.* 24, 138. Lucretius uses the comparatives of adverbs very seldom, and then in comparisons or implied comparisons.

4, 101 *imaginibus missis consistere eorum; earum Marullus, rerum Lachmann.*

It is highly improbable that both 100 and 101 should close with *rerum*, and that the second *rerum* should be corrupted into *eorum*, in spite of the homoioteleuton in 3, 367-8 and 429-30 and elsewhere. *Earum* is very dubious, for the reason that Lucretius dislikes the feminine forms of the genitive plural of pronouns: *illarum* does not occur in the MSS; *earum* occurs in 3, 900 and 5, 532; *harum* is corrected to *horum* in 4, 118: cf. my note on 1, 611. *Eorum* is here a neuter that takes up *rerum*. Correspondence of *res* with a neuter is very common, as I have shown in my note on 1, 57. In 4, 43 *eorum* is the MS reading, dislodged by Lachmann's *rerum*, but should be retained—*dico igitur rerum effigias tenuisque figuras | mittier ab rebus, summo de corpore eorum; rerum rebus rerum* is improbable, and there also *earum* was formerly read. In 4, 64 *ab rebus mitti summo de corpore rerum*, *rerum* can stand. Wakefield retained *eorum* in 43 and 101; and also in 68 where most editors read *eodem* after Pontanus, others *rerum* with

Avancius. But in 64 *ab rebus mitti summo de corpore rerum* is the reading of the codices. In 116 *eorum* is corrected to *eorum* or *quorum* by Purmann and Lachmann. In 5, 154 *eorum* is retained by many editors. In 2, 1007 *earum* is the MS reading, corrected to *eadem*; and in 3, 412 *eorum* is now retained.

4, 104 *sunt igitur tenues formarum dissimilesque | effigiae;*
 emended into *consimilesque, illis similesque, formae rerum*
similesque, formae rerum his similesque.

Wakefield keeps the MSS except that he writes *effigies*. Lucretius is discussing in general the simulacra and their likeness to their originals; these simulacra may be exact reproductions or may be somewhat distorted by circumstances: cf. 59, 75; and in 98 the reflection from mirrors. Water or any bright surface would likely vary somewhat in accuracy. Again, in the conclusion of the argument, 109, the reflection gives *similes figurae* merely. The *dissimilesque* here appears to be a cautious parenthetical qualification: the *effigiae* are not always exact representations: they are similar, and yet unlike, for they are often distorted or slightly changed. Thus, in 2, 372 *quodvis frumentum non tamen omne | quique suo genere inter se simile esse videbis | quin intercurrat quaedam distantia formis*, and in 379 *primordia rerum | dissimili inter se quaedam volitare figura*. Wakefield thinks there is unlikeness between the simulacra that are visible and those that are separately invisible, but visible in the mass. Lachmann would not distinguish the accuracy of the reflection from the three classes of surfaces. And yet in 100 the simulacra of all of them *simili specie sunt praedita rerum*. There were special difficulties in the explanation of images from mirrors and of certain optical illusions that the poet discusses at length in 4, 269 sq., 324 (300), 319 (343). But I can cite no parallel in the poem for such a use of *dissimilis* or *similis*.

4, 143 *quam facili et celeri ratione gerantur; genantur Lambinus.*

So below, 159 *geruntur* OQ, *genuntur* Lambinus. In 3, 433 OQ have *geruntur*; *genuntur* Lambinus, *feruntur* Creech. The only occurrence in the MSS of *geno* is *geni* in 3, 797. At first

sight *genantur* seems a necessary correction, for, as Lachmann says, this paragraph states the origin of the *simulacra*, and 176 sq. the swiftness of their motion. But *gerantur* may be interpreted "produced"; the proposed correction of 3, 433 shows how the meaning of *fero*, *geno*, and *gero* sometimes coalesce. In 4, 1012 *faciuntque geruntque* are synonyms and in 1, 634 *concursum motus per quae (or quas) res quaeque geruntur* "by which things are carried on," that is "produced"; and in 1, 568 *fiant* and *gerantur* are coördinate. This is not strange when we remember that motion is the ultimate cause of the combination of the atoms into created things. Lucretius never uses *gignere* of the *simulacra* or *imagines*; he has it many times with *res*, and it is said of *color*, *lumina*, *tenebrae*; *dolor*, *morbus*, *algor*; *saecla*, *animalia*, *vir*; *plaga*, *ictus*; *aestus*, *flamma*, *imber*, *corpus*, *mens*, *vores*, *viscus*, *anima*; *luna*, *fulmen*; *sensile*, *sensus*; *concordia*; *sulphur*. Again, *gerantur* is more in harmony with *fluant* and *cedant*. But in 1, 646 *uro OQ*, *uno corr. Q*, *vero corr. O*.

4, 270 *nam certe penitus remota videtur; semota Marullus; 288 distare ab speculo tantum semota videtur.*

But in 253 is *tam procul esse magis res quaeque remota videtur*. In 813 both verbs are found: *tempore semotum fuerit longeque remotum*. *Semoveo* is the MS reading in 1, 463; 2, 19, 648; 3, 66; 5, 579; in 1, 463 it is unquestionably better than *removeo*—"apart from"; and in 2, 648 it is, on the whole, preferable; but in 2, 19; 3, 66; 5, 579 *removeo* would have done just as well. And parts of *semoveo* could replace *removeo* in 5, 350; 2, 534, 839 where alliteration almost demands the change, perhaps as well in 3, 882 and 5, 125. In 3, 69, 401; 4, 329; 5, 148, 839; 6, 853 *removeo* is demanded rather than *semoveo*. The shift of meaning from "put away" to "put aside" is a subtle one; so slight that it seems safer to stand by the MSS, especially since, so far as this particular change is concerned, our MSS offer no variants in any of the passages in which *semoveo* and *removeo* occur.

4, 284 *continuo a nobis in eum quae fertur imago; idem Munro, iterum Lachmann, in id haec Lambinus, itidem Bockemueller.*

The reading of the codices is retained by Wakefield and Christ. Wakefield had a queer theory that eum could be used for id as a neuter. Lucretius has speculum 27 times and only once where the gender is certain: 4, 151 ut in primis speculum est where speculust would be an easy emendation. In 3, 974 hoc speculum, hoc is a predicate. So aevum is unquestionably masculine in 2, 561 and 3, 605; and finis, as I have attempted to show, feminine in 2, 1116; hunc caelum occurs in in 6, 483. The ordinary Greek word for mirror is *κάτοπτρον*, poetical. *κάτοπτρις*. Was there also a masculine form that influenced Lucretius? Forcellini-De Vit cites speculus from Ps. Cypr. *De Mont. Sina et Sion* 13.

4, 324 fiet ut ante oculus fuerit qui dexter ut idem; fiet ita
Lachmann, hic idem Marullus.

Fiet ut does not apparently occur in the poem; fiet uti in 1, 864, 919, 982, all before a word beginning with a consonant. Fit ut is very common: 2, 86; 5, 265 etc.; fit uti also; cf. 3, 119; 4, 448 etc.; ut before a vowel in 1, 897; 4, 818, etc. The MS reading should here be retained because fiet ut is regarded as one word as in 4, 944; 6, 204; 6, 727, noted by Lachmann on 6, 1007. This repetition of ut is common in Plautus: *Capt.* 248 atque ut qui fueris et qui nunc sis meminisse ut memineris; Hallidie in his note on that passage cites *Rudens* 1256, *Aul.* 791, *Bacch.* 777, *Cas.* 511, *Ps.* 580, *Trin.* 141; and *Ter. Ph.* 153.

4, 395 solque pari ratione manere et luna videtur; videntur
Lachmann.

Because demanded by ea in the following line; but what else could the poet write there? It is this very ea that shows videtur to be right, for with videntur there would be no need of it: ea videntur manere in statione quae res ipsa indicat ferri—motion is common to the two heavenly bodies; or ea may take up res ipsa, but that is not according to Lucretian usage, cf. 3, 225, 355; 5, 104, 108; 6, 469, 542. Lucretius, as well as every one else, knew that the sun and moon do not stop at the same time, as the colles campique in 389 fly by the moving boat, where videntur is called for; and so sidera adfixa cavernis, in

391, videntur cessare, because the heavens move altogether; and in 401 the atria and columnae appear to whirl together. A somewhat similar use occurs in 5, 1189 per caelum volvi quia nox et luna videtur, where some read sol for nox. Holtze. *Syntax. Lucr.* 148 discusses the singular and plural use; typical examples are 3, 18 apparet divum numen sedesque quietae; 4, 761 mors et terra potitast; 3, 22 semperque innubilis aether | integit et large diffuso lumine ridet, where Lachmann and most recent editors change to rident; but Giussani and Bailey Tr. are right in keeping ridet: first, because the sentence with rident is needlessly awkward; and, secondly, because there is really nothing gained by the change; for if the cloudless ether covers the abode of the gods, then necessarily if the ether smiles the dwelling place smiles too. One must not be overlogical in dealing with poetry. And in 2, 790 ex albis quoniam non alba creatur, se. res, is perhaps right instead of the early change to creantur. In 3, 66 videtur of the MSS is now read for an earlier videntur. But there are not a few cases where such a correction is necessary; e.g., 6, 467.

4, 437 navigia aplustris factas obnitier undas; and so Boeckemüller; fractis . . . undae Lachmann; fractas . . . undas Wakefield, fractis . . . undis Marullus.

Factas is a corruption of fractas; so in 2, 1150 facta OQ, fracta, editors. In the picturesque description of the shipwreck in 2, 552 sq., when the parts of the ship are scattered abroad, he does not use frango at all, except in the compound naufragia, but in 6, 695 frangit fluctus, 6, 142 sunt etiam fluctus per nubila, qui quasi murmur | dant in frangendo graviter; quod item fit in altis | fluminibus magnoque mari, cum frangitur aestus. Lucretian usage there prevents taking fractas with aplustris, and the aplustria were not broken anyway; they were only bent—refracta 440, reflexa 442. Aplustris is explained in 438 as supra rorem salis edita pars remorum and gubernata; the word therefore must not be pressed, but stands generally for the upper parts of the vessel that are reflected in the water. This leads to taking, with Wakefield, aplustris with clauda. Lucretius does not use clauda elsewhere, but the metaphor appears from 6, 834

claudicat extemplo pinnarum nisus inanis. There remains fractas obnitier undas. The ships are presumably anchored in the stream, in portu (Prop. 2, 25, 24 cum saepe in portu fracta carina natet), and they tug against the current, undas, which breaks against the bow of the ship as she lies at anchor and is rent apart by the obstacle; cf. vertice torto 1, 293. In 440 quae demersa liquorem obeunt refracta videntur, liquorem corresponds to undis and obeunt to obnitier; he could not write liquores nor does he use undae in the singular. He has the plural several times of river water: 1, 421 in rapidas amnis despeximus undas; 6, 717, 1173; 1, 288, 1031; and also when he describes the eddying and movement of water: 1, 374 quo possint cedentes confluere undae, cf. 380; 3, 494 ventorum validis fervescunt viribus undae. For the participle, 5, 1005 ridentibus undis may be compared. Quintilian 9, 4, 7 has inter obstantia saxa fractis aquis ac reluctantibus. I would translate "But to those who know not the sea, ships in the harbor seem to press against the severed waters, maimed in their upper works." Propertius 4, 6, 26 radiis pieta tremebat aqua.

4, 440 quae demersa liquore obeunt; liquorem Lachmann.

Winand, *Vocab. Lat. quae ad mortem spectant historia* (Marburg, 1906), p. 67, defends liquore, comparing 4, 432 in undis sol fit uti videatur obire. Lucretius is the first to use obire of the setting of stars, and is also first to use obire as the equivalent of mori; here the word is used absolutely: obire vi praepositionis amissa in notionem occidere, Winand says.

4, 472 qui capite ipse suo in statuit vestigia sese; sua Lachmann, because he will not have elision of an iambus (cf. 741) and because sua distinguishes the man's footsteps from those of some other person.

The reading of the codices means qui ipse sese statuit suo capite in vestigia, but Munro and Bailey translate as if the reading had been qui ipse sese statuit suo capite in sua vestigia. Now the poet has omitted to use the adjective pronoun in one place when it is really needed in two; what else can we do here than to follow the codices? Suo is far more expressive than

sua if the poor wretch puts his own foolish head where his feet should be.

4, 479 neque sensu posse refelli; sensus Marullus.

The MS reading means neque notitiam veri sensu posse refelli, which amounts to neque vera sensu posse refelli; and in 482 the poet says quid maiore fide porro quam sensus haberi debet; the senses cannot refute the truth, for the truth is known only through the senses; the emendation means that the senses cannot be gainsaid. The singular of sensus usually means "sensation" (2, 932; 3, 101), the plural "senses." 5, 124 notitiam potius praebere ut posse putentur quid sit vitali motu sensuque remotum. Even Epicurus *Fr.* 36 says *πᾶσα γὰρ αἴσθησις ἀλογός ἐστι*. One sense cannot refute another: 4, 496 non possint alios alii convincere sensus, cf. sensibus 478; and in 416 sq. he argues in detail that this is impossible. The conception of truth comes from the senses, 478; these are true, 484-5; and no refutation is possible of one sense by another, nor of the vera ratio by a sensation whether true or false, 483. The MS reading should be kept as the expression of a general statement: the conception of truth comes from the senses and refutation through sensation is impossible.

4, 486 an poterit oculos aures reprehendere an aures | tactus; poterunt Marullus.

Is aures nominative or accusative? Arguet in 487 and confutabunt in 488 point to the nominative, but how can poterit then stand? Why was poterit written with such an apparent call for a plural? Poterint was read by the Verona and Venice editors and occurs elsewhere, but the form is denied by the later editors and therefore poterit must be retained, even with a harsh construction. Lucretius means "or will it be possible that the ears should convict the eyes or will touch be able to convict the ears?" This suggests the possibility that poterit should be taken with tactus, the expanded text being an <poterunt> oculos aures reprehendere, an auris poterit <reprehendere> tactus. Poterunt could never have been corrupted into poterit here. Lucretius is very free in his use of the sing-

ular: 4, 1091 nam cibus atque umor membris adsumitur intus |
 quae quoniam certas possunt obsidere partis | hoc facile expletur
 laticum frugumque cupido. There are many harsh constructions
 in the poem; one that is undisputed is found in 2, 406 omnia
 postremo bona sensibus et mala tactu.

4, 490

ideoque necesses

et quod molle sit et gelidum fervensve videri
 et seorsum varios rerum sentire colores
 et quaecumque coloribus sint coniuncta necessest.

For videri and necessest editors with Bentley and Lachmann substitute seorsum and videre. There seems to be an inherent improbability in videri being written for seorsum; paleographically there is not the slightest support for such a change and it was probably suggested by the spurious verse quod molle aut durum est gelidum fervensve seorsum, an invention of Lambinus. It is barely possible that necesse est in 493 was repeated from 490, but those words are repeated elsewhere: 3, 798-806, 204-216-235-241, 962-965. Wakefield keeps the MS reading and explains ideoque necessest, et quid molle sit, et gelidum, fervensque, videri: i.e., ita, ut est videri; molle, gelidum, vel fervens. But videri here retains something of a mistaken etymological origin, as if it were related to dividere, divisibilis, and which it shares also with cerno, cribrum; it means here "distinguish," a notion of separation that Bentley would express more plainly by seorsum; divisast has preceded in 490. So in 1, 1065 illi cum videant solem nos sidera noctis | cernere et alternis nobiscum tempora caeli | dividere; 4, 89 nec singillatim possunt secreta videri; 2, 473 est ratio secernendi sorsumque videndi; 4, 245 efficit ut videamus et internoscere curat.

4, 567 obsignans formam verbis clarumque sonorem; verbi
 Lachmann "quia praecesserat verbum" 563.

There is in this discussion a strange mixture of singular and plural: 547 voces, 549 verborum, 554 vox, verba, 558 verba, 559 vocem, 561 verborum, 562 vox, 563 verbum, 565 voces, vox, 568 vocum, 571 verbi, 574 verborum, 576 voce, 577 voces, 579 verba; and this confusion is aided by pars 568, 570, and the theory of

the division of sound when heard by several people at once. Creech's paraphrase is *vox igitur una subito in multas dispergitur, quoniam in singulas aures se dividit, verba etiam defert figurata et liquido sonantia.* In 556 *servat enim formaturam servatque figuram <verborum>* from 554; and the *vox una* of 565 is not necessarily one word, as is apparent from 553 sq. *unde una profecta perveniat vox quaeque, necessest verba, etc.,* and 558-9 *confundi verba . . . et conturbari vocem;* and again, *verborum* 574 corresponds to *voce* in 576. This is another case where Lachmann is a greater precisian than Lucretius himself.

4, 579 *verba repulsantes iterabant dicta referri; docta Lachmann.*

But the echoes are natural and the hills are not instructed as the river was in Horace *A. P.* 68. The sense is plainly *colles, collibus ipsi verba repulsantes, iterabant verba;* but he uses *dicta* instead of *verba*, just as in 4, 461 *et reddere dicta tacentes;* it is the spoken word that is echoed: *reddere voces* 577. Then the words are returned by the echo—*referri*, the word that is used of the reflection of the simulacra 346. The only difficulty is in the syntax—*iterabant dicta referri*, and Lachmann objects to *iterabant referri*. The hills repeated the words to be echoed back, an unexampled use of the infinitive of purpose, something like *dedit ire* 3, 1030 and the more common *vitare petentes* 3, 83. Other unusual combinations are *corripere instant* 4, 998, *properant suppeditare* 5, 297, *facere reparcent* 1, 667. Giussani would have *dicta referri* equivalent to "echo," object of *iterabant*, like 5, 1186 *perfugium sibi habebant omnia divis tradere.*

4, 615 *hoc qui sentimus sucum; nec Marullus.*

Lucretius continues *lingua atque palatum pluseculum habent in se rationis plus operaeve*, and then takes 56 lines to discuss the question. Many think there is a considerable lacuna after 633; certainly a sufficient justification for *pluseculum rationis.* *Hoc* is merely a connecting word as in 622, 658; 2, 125, and *id* in 4, 1274; 1, 655. *Quod* is more commonly used and *nunc* or *hic* or *quod superest* might have been written here just as well.

- 4, 638 est itaque ut serpens; aliquae Lachmann, and there are many other attempts.

The MS reading is retained by Wakefield and Everett, but Lachmann objects to ut = ubi. This is a case of Lucretian pleonasm: est ut is common enough and itaque is like ita uti in 1, 479, 539; itaque here being equivalent to et ita, and est itaque ut merely a tautological expression for sic "thus."

- 4, 712 rapidi contra constare leones; rabidi Wakefield; cf. Hor. *A. P.* 393 where also there is doubt, as well as in Catull. 63, 85, 93, Lucan 6, 337, Prop. 3, 19, 10, and Ov. *Am.* 3, 12, 22.

Below in 5, 892 the MSS have rapidis canibus where rabidis is usually read. Rapidi may mean "fierce" as in Virg. *G.* 4, 425. Rabidi does not occur in O and Q, while rapidus occurs nine times, usually in the meaning "swift." Mr. Bailey translates the word thrice by "tearing," thrice by "swift," by "rapid," "racing," and "hurrying" each once. There is not the slightest reason for the supposition that these lions are mad or abnormally enraged; in such a state they surely would not continuo meminere fugai, 713, for their anger would make them blind to all dangers. To modern thought the transition from "roaring" to "raging," "furious," "mad" is an easy one, but it is not antique. Pliny calls the lion merely "saevum animal." The ravening wild beast is brought to a stop by the sight of the cock: Ov. *H.* 10, 96 rapidis praeda cibusque feris; there as usual the MSS vary and Heinsius gives many other examples, closing, however, with the statement "rapidae tamen ferae pro rapacibus dictae videntur."

- 4, 752 nunc igitur docui quoniam me forte leonum | cernere per simulacra; leones Marullus, leonem Lachmann.

Wakefield retained leonum, supplying leones. Munro and Giussani keep the order docui quoniam. In the preceding paragraph the poet has shown that vision, both of mind and eye, comes through simulacra (724, 729), hence one never sees the object itself but simulacra of it; through these simulacra the mind perceives the object, and the observer ordinarily is said to

see it; but here Lucretius is expressing himself with great caution. The simulacra are the cause of vision of the departed, 760, and the dreamer sees bodies in action, 769, 788; the whole paragraph concerns the sight of these idols. Therefore the observer does not see a lion but merely the idols of a lion or lions. An object must be supplied for cernere in 803 et quia tenvia sunt, nisi quae contendit, acute cernere non potis est animus, and in 810 nec sine eo fieri posse ut cernamus acute; cf. also 915. A genitive with simulacra occurs in 724, 733, 881, 1061, and must always be either expressed or implied. Leonum naturally comes at the end of the verse for the sake of emphasis.

4, 755 per simulacra leonum cetera qui videt aequae; so Wakefield; leonem et Lachmann; et Marullus.

If leonum be retained in 752, it must also be kept here, but then the verse would have no principal caesura. It is therefore necessary to supply a word, which is more likely to have been ut than et: 6, 754 Graium ut, 5, 850 primum ut, 3, 621 membrorum ut; 3, 347 ut fell out after discidium. The entire passage may be translated "now then, since I have shown that I perceive through images of lions—images that excite the eyes, you may know that in like manner the mind is affected by images of lions, just as equally it sees other things no less than the eyes, except for the fact that it perceives finer things." Cetera is used as in 1, 456; 2, 104; 4, 509. Here, as often, we must let Lucretius express himself in his own way. The *De Rerum Natura* that is the joint work of Lucretius, Marullus, Lambinus, Lachmann, Munro, Brieger, and Giussani may suit modern taste better than the incomplete and often rude poem written by Lucretius alone.

4, 1022 exterruntur et ex somno quasi mentibu' capti; exterruntur, externantur, experguntur have been read; exterruntur was retained by the Verona and Venice 1495 and by Wakefield.

This is another case of variation between the second and third conjugations, as in 1, 71; 2, 27; 3, 824; cf. above on 1, 71. There are traces in the glosses of a terro for terreo (*CGL*. 7, 343).

4, 1222 a stirpe; ab Lachmann.

As elsewhere, a before s has good authority; cf. my note on 2, 1135.

4, 1244 crassius hic porro quoniam coneretius aequo; hoc Marullus, his Lachmann.

Wakefield retained the MS reading. His <aliis> porro is very subtle, but is as unusual as hic porro; I know of no Lucretian parallel for either, but as all occur separately it is better to make no change. Cf. hic tum in 5, 432 and hic in 3, 992, 1023; 6, 140.

5, 34 arboris amplexum stirpes; stirpem Marullus.

If Lucan in 9, 364 could say robora complexus of the same serpent, why can not Lucretius write stirpes here? Pius has stipites. Cic. *N. D.* 2, 83 stirpes amplexa alat, 26 stirpibus infixat. Lucretius does not use the singular of radix, the frequent synonym of stirps, which in the singular he has only metaphorically in 1, 733; 4, 1222: the singular of ramus he does not use nor of virgultum, and he has only truncos (1, 353) in reference to a tree. Even herba he has but once in the singular—5, 816 herba cubile, but many times in the plural, and arbor, like arbusta, is preferably plural.

5, 116 mare sidera lunam | corpore divino debere aeterna meare; manere Marullus, meare Wakefield.

In 1, 128; 5, 76, 774 solis lunaeque meatus, but manent aeterna 3, 806, aeternum tempus manere 1, 582, aeterna manere 2, 907. It is highly improbable that manere should have been corrupted into meare, notwithstanding its appropriateness here. Elsewhere in a similar catalogue 2, 1084 caelum . . . terram et solem lunam mare . . . non esse unica. The destruction of maria terras caelumque is predicted in 5, 92, but that prediction contrasts the eternity and destruction of the heavenly objects and does not bear on the verb used. Here again we must allow the poet to use his own strong metaphors, "to go their eternal courses."

5, 175 an credo in tenebris vita ac maerore iacebat; at Lachmann, who also places the verse after 169; Lambinus placed 174 after 176, Giussani kept the MS order.

Lachmann denies the Latinity of an credo in spite of Sulpicius *Cic. Fam.* 4, 5, 3 an illius vicem credo doles. The connection of the thought here calls for an, not at, as the poet is giving a series of questions; hence Bruno's change of an to haud is not to be accepted. Whether credo should be replaced by crepera (Bockemueller and Munro), or caeca (Bergk), or by something else is a question; but I prefer to wait for further support of an credo. The course of the argument is the following:

156 the gods did not make the world for the sake of men, for
165 what profit could gods receive from men?

168 what new thing could affect them?

173 what desire for novelty could appeal to them?

174 what evil would there be if there were no human life?

175 did (human) life lie in darkness until the world was
made (presumably by the gods)?

177 but existence is necessary for happiness and non-
existence cannot harm;

181 where did the gods get the conception of man and the
world unless from nature?

187 the world made itself (and therefore it was not made
by the gods).

5, 191 quaecumque inter se possint congressa creare; possent
Lachmann, to agree with 426.

Possint is retained by Langen and rightly, for Lucretius often makes slight variations: cf. 1, 880; 6, 767, 853: 1, 950; 4, 25: 3, 784; 5, 127: 1, 283; 5, 946: 2, 1016; 1, 821: 1, 674, 757: 2, 164; 4, 208: 5, 1315; 2, 632: 1, 739; 5, 112. Also 2, 1062 fierent, 5, 430 fiunt; 5, 520 ignes, 6, 200 ignis; 4, 170 rearis, 6, 251 reamur; 1, 674 vigescat, 1, 757 vigescere.

5, 396 ignis enim superavit et ambens multa perussit; superat
et lambens Lachmann; lambens Q corr.

Ellis, *Journ. Phil.* 15, 10, keeps ambens; there have been many other conjectural emendations. Lambens is an interpre-

tative gloss to *ambens*, for which the early editors read *ambiens*. *Ambens* is another ancient and rare form from *ambedo*, like *ambest* in Paul. Fest. The word, in the form *ambesa*, is used of fire in *Aen.* 5, 752. Lachmann says “*neque ambens pro ambedens grammatica sana,*” but that begs the question.

5, 429 *tandem convenient ea quae conventa repente; convecta*
Lachmann.

This verse is very like 2, 1061, where he has *coniecta*, and there Lachmann also read *convecta*. There is no doubt about a passive use of *convenio*, e.g., Livy, 30, 43, 7 *quibus conventis*; and the words *conventus*, *conventum* also support the use: 1, 611 *conventu conciliata*. He would hardly have used *conventa* here if it were not for his habit of repetition: 2, 63 *gignant genitasque resolvant*, 300 *gigni gignentur eadem*; 1, 667 *parte reparcent*; 3, 969 *cecidere cadentque*; 6, 355 *quae facile insinuantur et insinuata repente*.

5, 491 *densabant procul a terris fulgentia templa; densebant,*
Lambinus.

Lucretius has *densendo*, *denseri*, *denserier*, *condenseat*; and forms of *densare* occur in other authors, often with MS variants. There is no other occurrence of *densabant* or *densebant* known; so *nebant*, *lavebant*, *tonebant* do not occur, and it is not safe in such a dubious matter to depart from the MS reading; hence *densabant* should be retained. Why the Romans preferred sometimes to conjugate a verb differently in different tenses we do not know, but such was the fact.

5, 560 *quis potis est nisi vis animae; quid Faber, animi* Lachmann.

Here we should expect *quid*, to agree with modern idiom, but *quis* is both masculine and feminine and may stand. *Vis* seems to demand a neuter, but Lucretius may have felt it as a feminine, or even masculine if *animi* be read. In 3, 354 *quid sit enim corpus sentire quis adferet umquam*, Brieger would read *quid*. Moreover, *quis* could be taken with a supplied *vis*: 1, 222 *donec vis obiit quae res diverberet ictu*; 3, 636 *si subito medium celeri praeciderit ictu | vis aliqua ut sorsum partem*

secernat; 5, 654 *cursum convertere cogit | vis eadem, supra quae terras pertulit orbem*; 5, 1152 *circumretit enim vis atque iniuria quemque | atque unde exortast ad eum plerumque revertit*; 6, 71 *non quo violari summa deum vis | possit ut ex ira poenas petere imbibat acris*. *Animae* should be retained with Brieger. Lucretius is careless in distinguishing between *animus* and *anima*: thus in 557 *animai*, 560 *animae*, 563 *animi* occur. The principle is given in 3, 421 sq.

5, 589 *alteram utram in partem filum quo longius absit; absint*
Lachmann.

Lambinus suggests that *absit* may have *filum* ("size," "body") for its subject, but *absit* may be impersonal,—“the farther the distance may be”: 4, 255 *quale sit ut videamus et una quam procul absit*.

5, 705 *luna potest solis radiis percussa nitere; percussa* Flor.
31.

Lucretius uses *percussus*, *percutio*, *percello*, and often the verbs are so nearly synonymous that either one may be used. So in 5, 1223, *percussi membra*, the old vulgate and *perculsi*. Such being the case, the MSS should be followed here. In 1, 13 Lambinus suggested *percussae* for *perculsae*.

5, 761 *quae faciunt ignis interstingui atque periri; perire*
Marullus.

In 3, 438 *is diffundi multoque perire*; 2, 275 *ire rapique*, yet it is barely possible that here *periri* is right and is due to *interstingui*: 3, 1010 *quod tamen expleri nulla ratione potestur*; 1, 1045 *suppleri summa queatur*; 6, 595 *tremere atque movere*. This may be a case of poetic audacity: Cic. *Tusc.* 3, 20 *nos consuetudine prohibemur; poeta ius suum tenuit et dixit audacius*.

5, 839 *androgynem; androgynum* Marullus.

There are two Greek words, one in $-\eta\varsigma$ and the other in $-\omega\varsigma$; the former would make its accusative in $-\eta\nu$, of which the Latin would be *-en*, *-em*, *-an*, or *-am*, of all of which Lachmann gives examples from proper nouns. Lucretius had no fixed rule: thus he has *homoeomerian* 1, 830, *harmoniam* 3, 100,

magneta 6, 908, Curetas 2, 629, presteras 6, 424, crateres (nom. pl.) 6, 701. The verse is so extraordinary in expression, meaning, language, and rhythm that the probability of the correctness of androgynem is great.

5, 844 nec vitare malum nec sumere quod volet usus; foret
Lambinus.

Foret usus occurs in 1, 184; 4, 831, 841. Wakefield cites Hor. *A. P.* 71 si volet usus. Luer. 6, 9 flagitat usus; 1, 1080; 2, 237 natura petit; 4, 870 quae loca cumque poseunt umorem. L is written for i in 2, 414; 5, 790; I know of no occurrence in the Lucretian MSS of v for f.

5, 852 semina qua possis membris manare remissis; remissa
Lachmann.

Lambinus and Munro keep remissis. I now think remissis correct as referring to a physiological fact attested by writers on primitive marriage, e.g., Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, and suggested by Luer. 4, 1114.

5, 885 ubera mammarum in somnis laetantia quaeret; lactantia
Marullus.

Defended by Ov. *M.* 7, 321 and many other passages; at least a brilliant conjecture and for that reason to be examined closely. Virg. *G.* 3, 310 laeta magis pressis manabunt plurima mammis; *ibid.* 317 gravido ubere. Lucretius uses laetus, laetor frequently. It seems strange that so obvious a correction as lactantia did not occur to the copyists. But aeris occurs for aeris in 3, 456, an unmetrical blunder.

5, 925 et genus humanum; at Lachmann.

This historical sketch begins at 783 and the successive stages follow in the poet's description, introduced by multaue 837, 855, sed neque 878, nec 998, inde 1011, at 1028, inque 1105 etc. In subordinate parts of the paragraphs adversative particles occur: at 818, sed 826, at 864, 871, 945, sed 975, 1025, at 1036, etc. The chances are that he intended to continue with et rather than at in 925. In the argumentative part of the poem at occurs several times when beginning paragraphs, e.g., 2, 167;

et 3, 31, 396, 548; 4, 762, 1209; atque 4, 26. He has been discussing natural history and now turns to human history. At and et are both good, and the MSS alone can decide.

5, 934 nec scibat ferro mollerier arva; molirier Brix., mollirier
O corr.

Molirier is supported by Virg. *G.* 1, 494. Mollirier occurs in Ter. *Ph.* 632, and in Ov. *M.* 6, 220 duraque mollierant subiectas ungula glebas; Cic. *N. D.* 2, 130 mollitosque agros: Lucr. 5, 780 mollia terrae arva; 5, 142 putribus in glebis terrarum; 5, 926 tellus dura; Varro *R. R.* 1, 20, 2 molliorem terram. Mollirier must be regarded as a deponent and mollio-mollior may be compared with the active and deponent forms of opino, cuncto, frustro, imito, lamento, modero, odoro, pigro, revento and verso. Lucretius has forms in -ier of verto, moderor, cunctor, and imitor.

5, 944 pabula dira tulit; dura Naugerius.

Lachmann says dira is absurd, because "pabula neque graviter olentia neque necantia neque ex humana carne petita." Lucretius elsewhere does not call food dura; lubido is dira in 4, 1046, cupido in 1090. Pabula laeta he has frequently and dira is the opposite of laeta. Dira is a very strong word, but Lucretius is not idealizing early conditions: wretchedness and discomfort prevailed; genus humanum was durius 926; men lived "more ferarum" 932; their food was savage 937 sq., 965; cooking was unknown 953; they were squalid 956; they had no shelter 971. Dirus and durus approximate in meaning to saevus, and this accounts for the variation in Hor. *C.* 2, 12, 2, and dura could have replaced dira in Ov. *Tr.* 3, 3, 5 dira regione.

5, 989 dulcia linquebant lamentis lumina vitae; labentis
Muretus.

Bailey and Brieger retain lamentis in the sense "with lamentation." Livy 25, 38, 8 non lamentis lacrimisque tanquam extinctos prosequi. There is no good parallel for the ablative in Lucretius: 1, 41 aequo animo; 1, 273 rapido percurrens turbine; 1, 288 dat sonitu magno; 5, 271 fluit agmine dulci. Tac. *H.*

5, 15 cantu aut clamore; Sall. *C.* 1 vitam silentio transeant; cf. other examples in Roby *L. G.* 1236. Lucr. 6, 1248 is dubious: lacrimis lassi luctuque redibant, but lassus is used alone in 4, 957. If lamentis can stand syntactically, there can be no objection to it.

5, 1020 nec laedere nec violare; violari Lachmann.

5, 1155 qui violat factis communia foedera pacis, and for the two verbs 4, 505 et violare fidem primam et convellere tota fundamenta; 2, 436 laedit aut iuvat, 429 titillare quam laedere; 3, 149 laeditur laetitiaque viget. There is nothing in Lucretius' account that defends violari in spite of Epicurus' (DL. 10, 150) *βλάπτειν ἢ βλάπτεσθαι*. On the other hand, he likes to group synonymous verbs: 5, 952 scatere atque erumpere, 961 valere et vivere. Again, if the poet had been conscious of Epicurus' maxim, which is a statement of *δικαιοσύνη* and not germane to his description, he would have written something like finitimi nec se violari nec violare.

5, 1035 illis iratus petit atque infessus inurget; infestus Q¹.

Infestus occurs in ten other places with no MS variation, and in 2, 521 infessa also occurs where infesta is generally read. Infestus is supposed to be a participial formation, in-festus from fendo (rejected, however, by Walde), and in seven places in the poem it is a pure attributive adjective; but in 5, 983 and 1124, and possibly in 2, 1143, it is a predicate adjective and approximates to a participle; in 2, 521 and here where the spelling is infess- it might have been replaced by a participle; perhaps infenustus of Brix. points to such a theory. But it is more probable that infessus stands for infensus here, and so Avancius read; it is a synonym of iratus and this is the only place in the poem where infestus is grouped with another adjective. Drak. on Livy 2, 46, 7 gives many examples of MS variation between infensus and infestus.

5, 1058 pro vario sensu varias res voce notaret; varia Bentley.

Varias res is Lucretian: 1, 829 variae res, 816 variis varias res rebus; 2, 62 res varias; 4, 737 variis rebus; but also varias voces 4, 221, voces variasque 5, 1060, varias voces 1088. Yet

the shift of meaning is very slight: thus in 1, 298 *varios rerum odores*, *variarum rerum odores* would be a slight change, and similarly in 5, 1087 *varii sensus animalia*, *varia sensus animalia*, of course unmetrical changes in both passages; but 4, 1223 *varia producit sorte figuras*. Lucretius is so fond of hypallage with the adjective that we are not justified in departing from the MSS. As Wakefield says, "eodem redit sive quis res varias voce significet an varia voce res."

5, 1067 *at catulos; et Lachmann.*

The previous line begins with *et*, but Lucretius has no objection to a repeated *et* at the beginning of the verse: 2, 299-300, 504-505, 986-987; nor, on the other hand, is there any objection to *et-at*: 3, 191-192, 200-201, 299-300, 401-402, 639-640. In 1, 1087-1090 there is the sequence *at-et-atque-et*. The choice here between *at* and *et* is a mere matter of punctuation; with a semicolon after *complant* at the end of 1066, *et* may follow introducing the second part of the sentence; but with a period, *at* begins a new sentence and points the contrast between the hostile and friendly voices of the dogs. As a rule in Lucretius where *et* begins two verses in succession, the sentences or clauses are closely knit together, and there is no one of the thirteen cases where *et* so repeated begins a new sentence. The sequence here is like that in 3, 401-402, 639-640.

5, 1076 *et fremitum patulis sub naribus edit ad arma; ubi Lachmann, ibi Brieger.*

Sub is retained by Bailey and it seems defensible by Virg. *G.* 3, 85 *volvitur sub naribus ignem*. The Lucretian sentence falls into two, not three, parts, as *inter equas* 1074 corresponds to *alias* 1077 and illustrates the general principle expressed in 1061 of *gaudia* on the one hand and *metus* and *dolor* on the other. *Sub* is used as in 4, 543 *cum tuba depresso graviter sub murmure mugit*. But it is noteworthy that nowhere in the poem does *sub* follow a word ending in *s*, while *ubi* or *ibi* does so at least eight times (1, 171, 156, 250; 3, 798; 6, 175, 277; 3, 28; 6, 175). There is no other passage in the poem where *sub* has been changed to *ubi* or *ibi*.

5, 1085 corvorumque gregis; greges O corr.

It is now well established that the ending -is is permissible in the nominative plural: so animantis, exstantis, montis, parentis, imbris, partis, visentis, vitalis, plangentis, duplicis, aventis, plorantis, omnis, pascantis are read by modern editors where the archetype shows that orthography. But where the Oblongus has -is it should be restored, thus volueris 1, 2; 1034 labentis, 5, 1315 quatientis, 6, 471 vestis, 4, 1255 uxoris, 6, 671 tempestatis, 833 volantis and here in 5, 1085. And it is highly probable that the archaic forms reported by Lachmann on 1, 805 from Q and the Schedae, and the quotations by Nonius are correct: 3, 598 omnis, 4, 413 gentis, 1, 495 retinentis, 305 vestis, 6, 782 gravis, 160 nubis, 4, 952 poplitis, 494 odoris, 3, 1017 carnificis; see Neue-Wagener *Formenlehre* 1, 381.

5, 1096 ut ramosa tamen; et Marullus.

Lucretius nowhere else has ut tamen in a like connection. Still the ut may stand as a variant from the common cum tamen; or it may be merely an adverb of manner; or possibly still, it is a survival of the rare locative use, found in 6, 550 where see Munro's note: "where disregarding the hypothesis of lightning" etc. or "as on the other hand the fire is forced out." Munro's translation "without this" expresses the force of tamen in any case. See his note on 5, 1177.

5, 1099 emicat interdum flammai fervidus ardor; et micat Marullus.

Emicat occurs in 2, 195 and 4, 1050 and in the same metrical position; micat 3, 289, micant 5, 514, micantibus 5, 1204—all within the verse and later than the first foot. Emicat was retained by Lambinus. No connective is needed here any more than in 3, 478 sq., where seven verbs follow with no conjunction. A good parallel is 1, 347 in saxis ac speluncis permanat aquarum | liquidus umor et uberibus flent omnia guttis: | dissipat in corpus sese cibus omne animantum: | crescunt arbusta et fetus in tempore fundunt | . . . inter saepta meant voces et clausa domorum | transvolitant, rigidum permanat frigus ad ossa.

5, 1152 circumretit enim ius atque iniuriam quemque; vis
Brix. Iniuria O corr., a necessary change.

Lucretius nowhere else has *ius* in the nominative singular, but he has nowhere else *vis*, nom., in the abstract sense of violence, although it is one of his commonest words. *Violentia* he has twice, and *vis violenta* also twice: 3, 296 of lions and 5, 964 of man—*violenta viri vis atque inpensa libido*. In 5, 1144 *iuraque constituere*, and in 1147 *men fell sub leges artaque iura*; in 1150 they became weary of living *vi*, by force, and indeed the word is not infrequent in the accusative, *per vim*, and in the ablative in this meaning which is aided by the case. In 1155 a peaceful life can not be had by him *qui violat factis communia foedera pacis*. *Ius atque iniuria* together make up the object of the *communia foedera*, and the citizen must answer at all times either by *ius* or by *iniuria* for his conduct; the two words together imply the supremacy of law. *Circumretit* contains the metaphor, trite among the ancients, of the law as a mesh or web; in this net all citizens are caught both good and bad, for to the law they subject themselves for the common good. *Circumretit vis* without *iniuria* is impossible; *circumretit ius*, with or without *iniuria* is natural.

5, 1214 *et taciti motus hunc possint ferre laborem; solliciti Bentley; et tanti Avancius; Wakefield and Bockemueller retain et taciti.*

Silence is characteristic of the night: 4, 460 *severa silentia noctis (montis OQ)*, 582 *noctivago strepitu . . . taciturna silentia rumpi*. The quiet and silence of heaven is a commonplace. The meaning of the text is "how long the ramparts of the world and its silent motion may be able to endure toil." Lucretius has nowhere a qualifying genitive with *labore* expressing the weariness of doing something. Although the word occurs twenty-one times, he has a dependent genitive but once to denote the person who experiences the toil, never the cause of it: thus 2, 2 *alterius spectare laborem*. Four times he has an adjective pronoun: 1, 213; 2, 1160 *nostro*; 2, 730 *meo*; 5, 869 *suo*. The source of the toil he expresses once by *in eo* 3, 999 and once by *inde* 5, 1152. More often he uses the word without

reference, as in 5, 1272 *nec poterat pariter durum sufferre laborem*; cf. 1, 141; 2, 12, 1163, 1165; 3, 62, 366, 419, 460; 4, 958, 1121; 5, 213, 1359; 6, 1243. *Solliciti motus* as a genitive qualifying *laborem* is then scarcely Lucretian. *Motus* is so important in the Epicurean system that Lucretius almost personifies it: 4, 655 *motus reposeunt*; 2, 970 *motus novitate laborant*; 3, 1040 *motus languescere*; 2, 569 *nec superare queunt motus*; 4, 863 *quae sunt exercita motu*. If he can say *motus laborare*, he can say also *motus ferre laborem*.

5, 1225 *poenarum grave sit solvendi tempus adauctum*; *adauctum* Marullus, *adultum* Lachmann, *adductum* *quidam* *apud* Havercamp. *Dentis adauctus* 5, 1330, *adauctum* OQ.

Tempus adultum may be said after the analogy of *aetas adulta* 4, 1038; *tempus adaugescere* is an unexampled expression, and Wakefield's *adauctum* for *ad maturitatem* seems impossible. If *adauctum* be retained, the meaning is "lest the fullness of the hour of paying the penalty should come." Lucretius has *adaugescit* once, in 2, 296 *adaugescit quidquam*; *adauctu* 2, 1122 *nam quaecumque vides hilario grandescere adauctu paulatimque gradus aetatis scandere adultae*; *crescere adaucta* 2, 564; *convenere adaucta* 6, 508; *adaugmen* 6, 614. In all these places there is suggestion of progress to a definite completion, and all of them are unusual phrases. We should expect to find the word and its associates strangely used. The metaphor is a legal one and reminds one of the phrase *dies solvendae pecuniae, usurarum, venit* of the date of enforcing payment of an obligation. The jurists said *annus cedere incipit, dies incipit cedere, tempus cedit*, and this goes on until *dies venit*; the obligation begins to run until finally it is due. This growth in the obligation may be in the poet's mind: the *admissum foede* will surely call for its penalty, and the progress toward the date of final payment may be poetically expressed by *adauctum*—which is itself a juristic word (D. 40, 4, 57); in plain prose the thought could be expressed "*ne tempus maturum solvendae poenae venerit.*" There is much evidence in the poem of Lucretius' legal knowledge.

5, 1254 a radicibus; ab Marullus: 1, 352 ab radicibus and repeatedly ab rebus; cf. Hertz *Praep.* 1.

Woltjer, *Archiv* 11, 250 notes that O in 6, 921 has a rebus. Excluding the Greek words absinthium and habrotonum, Lucretius begins the verse with a caelo 1, 788, a terris 4, 417, but ab dubiis followed by ab se 4, 468, ab luitur 4, 876, absterrere 4, 1064, absterrent 4, 1234, abstrahit 3, 260, and these are the only cases where words beginning with ab or abs stand first.

5, 1273 nam fuit in pretio; tum Lachmann, iam Boekemueller.

Lachmann says nam is impossible "quod causam indicat pro effectu." Here nam is an asseverative particle in the meaning "surely" or "certainly" as in 1, 10; 5, 793, 868, 916, 1140, 1145, 1412. In this social epic the poet's style is different from that of any other part of the poem, and nowhere else does he use so many particles of transition. He has nam, causal, in the sense "because" or "the reason is that" in 5, 1043, 1250, 1291, 1330, and in the elliptical use "I say this, for" in 857, 884, 1204. The word generally introduces a confirmation or illustration or explanation, or reason, but the clause introduced may have only a vague reference to the general subject, not containing a logical cause for what immediately precedes. The contrast of then and now—tum and nunc—occurs several times in this part, and the conjecture is very attractive; Lucretius would have done well to have written it. There is no trace of a variant in any manuscript and I know of no example of the corruption of tu- to na- in O and Q. No commentator before Lachmann suspected nam, and the reason is plain: like our English "for" the word is sometimes a colorless particle.

5, 1325 et terram minitante mente ruebant; fronte Lachmann.

Minitante mente is an adverbial expression like sagaci mente 1, 1022, mente vigente 1, 925, pacata mente 5, 1203. The Romanic languages inherited the idiom. Before Lachmann no one questioned the reading, and neither he nor anyone else has given any argument in support of the conjecture except Munro in his citation of Ovid *Am.* 3, 13, 15 vituli nondum metuenda fronte minaces; but Lucretius did not write metuenda. a met-

rical equivalent of *minitante*. Of course it is the face of the bull that is dreaded, for that implies horns and hooves also; here it is not merely threatened evil but the tearing up of the earth that was actually done by the bulls with hoof and not with forehead. In the lines preceding they tossed and trampled and gored, and in 1325 they plowed up the earth (*ruebant*) menacingly, which is indicated just as well by *minitante mente* as by *fronte*. Animals have *mens*: 3, 299 *cervorum frigida mens est*. In Ovid the steers, *vituli not tauri*, are mentioned with pigs, heifers, rams, and kids as the *annua pompa* of a sacrifice, and the passage does not support the proposed change in the least degree. This is one of the best examples of Lachmann's influence. One thinks of a bull as *minitante fronte*, but *mente* is the more difficult reading.

5, 1400 *tum caput atque humeros plexis redimire coronis |
floribus et foliis lascivia laeta movebat; monebat Marullus.*

Membra moventes occurs in the next line. *Moneo* does not occur in the poem, but the construction is good Latin, although generally later than Lucretius. Instead of *moneo* he uses *doceo* 1143, 1303, 1383, 1453, or *perdoceo* 1438, or *monstro* 1106. If *movebat* is to be retained, the syntax is like 5, 945 at *sedare sitim fluvii fontesque vocabant*, or 5, 1015 *ignis enim curavit ut alsia corpora . . . possent*, or 5, 1028 at *varios linguae sonitus natura subegit*. But I am unable to bring any example of such a construction with *moveo*, and the only justification for it would be the occurrence of *moventes* in the following line and the alliteration and assonance of the sentence. The nearest parallel is Livy 23, 31, 11 *maxime ut hoc ferretur moverat quod . . .*

5, 1442 *tum mare velivolis florebat; iam Lachmann.*

It is not probable that *iam* should follow on the *iam* of 1440 with still another *iam* in 1443; he repeats other particles but not *iam*, *iamiam* 3, 894 excepted. In 2, 431-2; 6, 8-10 the particle is not used in anaphora and there are two sentences. The *tum* is here a mere connective particle as in 1397 sq. He

has iam tum close together in 5, 1026, 1037, 1169; tum iam 1, 157, 599-601; 4, 1166; 6, 1155-6; iam tum 1, 315-16; 3, 598-600.

6, 28 qua possemus ad id recta contendere cursu; recto Lactantius, O corr.

For Lucretian usage the following passages are important: 4, 93 nec recta viarum ostia sunt qua contendant exire coortae; 3, 6 quid enim contendat hirundo cyenis, aut quidnam tremulis facere artubus haedi consimile in cursu possint; 2, 11 contendere nobilitate; 4, 1272 eicit enim sulcum recta regione viaque; 2, 249 sed nil omnino <recta> regione viai; 4, 609 at simulacra viis dereectis omnia tendunt; 4, 514 normaque si fallax rectis regionibus exit; 2, 197 nam quo magis ursimus alte dereecta. Recto contendere cursu is plainly not in his manner; the two ablatives are of different character, for one might run on the wrong road. To be sure, he uses recta without a noun, but viam and tramite occur in the previous line and qua takes up via; Epicurus showed the way by which, straightforward along the upward path (so Postgate, *Flaws*, etc., 14), in running we could strain on towards the highest good. Cursus occurs many times in the poem and six times without a modifying word; the adjectives used with it are longo, perennis, medio, varios, quingentos. In Livy 26, 43, 8 occurs rectus in Africam cursus est which is a supplement by a humanist; I know of no other example of rectus cursus. Recta via is found in Plaut. *As.* 54, Ter. *HT.* 706, *And.* 600; recta alone *Phor.* 859, *Ad.* 433; Quint. 10, 1, 29 and frequently. And Cic. *Fin.* 1, 57 o praeclaram beate vivendi et directam viam. The change to recta is just the change that a careless scribe would make.

6, 129 tum perterricrepto sonitu dat missa fragorem; scissa Bernays, fissa Lachmann.

Fissa occurs only in 4, 680 fissa ferarum ungula; scissa does not occur at all in L., but he has other parts of scindo with reference to the simulacra 4, 149, 153, and to odor fumus vapor 4, 93; he uses the word also of the rending of the soul. Ellis in *Journ. Phil.* 2, 220 retains missa with the earlier editors. The

best argument for some change is Epicurus' *ρήξεις νεφῶν*; Lambinus interpreted "procella emissa edit fragorem." The subject of *dat* is not expressed; it may be procella as Lambinus thought or perhaps nubes: Lucretius was indifferent or he would have supplied a nominative. It makes little difference whether the cloud or the wind makes the crash which is compared to the explosion of a little bladder; there *disposita* does not necessitate *scissa* because the bladder has not a procella inside of it; *disposita* represents the force outside; it will not make a noise until it is exploded, but the cloud makes a noise by the action of the procella within it making its way out: *missa* and *disposita* are not parallel. But in the next paragraph, 132, he considers the theory of the tearing apart of the clouds—137 *fit quoque ut interdum validi vis incita venti perseindat nubem*. That is his way, *pedetemptim progrediens*, one thing at a time. The participle, whether it be *missa* or *scissa* or *fissa*, must be a word that is applicable to both procella and nubes, and the only one of the three is *missa*, in the sense "let go." This meaning of the word is very common: 6, 300, 310 *venti vis missa* cf. 320; 515 *nubila mittunt umorem pluvium*, and particularly 293 *tantus discidio nubis ventique procella mittitur*.

6, 131 *saepe ita dat parvum sonitum disposita repente; saepe det haut* Lachmann, *pariter* Marullus, *magnam* Voss, Wakefield, *noenu ita dat* Bernays, and there are many others.

The question at issue is whether the exploding little bladder makes a little or a big noise! One would suppose that a big bladder would make a big noise and a little one a little one. Here we are warned that the bladder is little because *parva* is expressly stated; Lucretius might have said simply that a bursting bladder makes a noise, or that either an ordinary or a large bladder makes a big noise or that a little one makes a little noise, i.e., thunder on a small scale; the last is what he said and what we should not say; and therefore we object to his saying it. He uses many adjectives with *sonitus*—*gravis*, *magnus*, *perterricrepus*, *ingens*, *terribilis*, *terrificus*, *fragilis*; and the *cycni canor* is *parvus* in 4, 182; *parvus* otherwise he

uses with great freedom and with such words as fons, tempus, humor, signum, nubes. So Ovid has parvus of sonus, *Pont.* 3, 3, 10. Yet in Isidorus' time the bladder quamvis parva magnum tamen sonitum emit. Seneca *N. Q.* 2, 27 discusses thunder: the first kind is the grave murmur made by clauso vento; the second is fragor qualem audiri solemus cum super caput alicuius dirupta vesica est: talia eduntur tonitrua cum conglobata dissolvitur nubes et eum quo distenta fuerat spiritum emisit—which again supports missa in 129.

6, 296 incidit in valida maturo culmine nubem; gravidam Bentley, validam Juntine, calidam Bernays; fulmine Marullus.

The correct reading is calidam . . . culmine, and so Ellis. It is impossible that fulmine, which has occurred so frequently, should have been extruded by culmine, a word that occurs nowhere else in the poem; it is here a synonym of vertex 298; with fulmine in 296, quem patrio vocitamus nomine fulmen, 298, is gratuitous. Culmen and vertex share many meanings and Lucretius is using technical language here. On the other hand Bentley read culmina for fulmina in *Manil.* 2, 892 and in Lucretius fientur stands for cientur in 6, 520. But when Seneca in the *Naturales Quaestiones* uses such strange words as pogoniae, cyparissiae, trabes, pithiae in relation to meteorological phenomena, we should be slow to change such a word as culmen here.

6, 324 at celeri ferme percurreunt fulmina lapsu; et Marullus.

This verse is so dubious—Brieger and Giussani regard it as a dittography of 323—that it should be retained until some final disposition of the line be decided on.

6, 365 quorum utrumque opus est fabricanda ad fulmina nobis; nubi Lachmann who would not have Lucretius a Cyclops.

Nobis, however, may mean "in our opinion"; nobis has to be supplied in 374 freta sunt haec anni nominanda, and nos must be supplied with perspicere and videre in 380, cf. 139. In the sixth book Memmius is not mentioned whose name turns up so unexpectedly in other books, just as nobis does here; cf.

5, 164, 1282. Very likely if the poet had revised the sixth book we should find Memmi here instead of nobis. There are traces of an address to some one in 73 sq. but in 80 he says *quam quidem ut a nobis ratio verissima longe reiciat*, and after 96 he does not seem to address anybody other than the reader, 113, and then rarely: e.g., 168 *videas*, 169 *cernas*; but 170 *cernimus*, 171 *accipimus*, 189 *contemplator*, 191 *videbis*, 187 *ne tibi sit frudi quod nos inferne videmus*, 194 *poteris*, 245 *te*, 251 *reamur*, 262 *nostrum caput*, 298 *vocitamus*, 314 *caedimus* (L. was then a stonecutter?), 335 *adde*, 407 *possimus*, 409 *queamus*, 411 *possis*, 477 *videmus*, 536 *percipe*, *rearis*. *Nobis* itself is general as in 3, 129; see my note there. For the position at the end of the verse, cf. 3, 9, 321; 5, 543, 872. Lambinus preferred to interpret as in 4, 1268 *nec molles opu' sunt motus uxoribus hilum*.

6, 428 *fervescunt graviter spirantibus lacita flabris; incita Flor. 31.*

Incita is a gloss on *lacita*, an obsolete word, mentioned by Festus and read by Lambinus in 4, 1146, 1206. So in 5, 1068 *laetant* (MS) is also the correct reading.

6, 429 *et quaecumque in eo tum sint deprensa tumultu | navigia in summum veniunt vexata periculum; sunt Antonius Marius, veniant Lachmann.*

“Should any ships be then caught in that turmoil, they are harried and come into great danger.” Of course a new sentence begins with 429. F. Schroeter, *Conditionalsaetze* 18, gives as examples of the present indicative followed by the perfect subjunctive 1, 410 and 4, 557; the use of the indicative in both clauses is far more frequent (*ibid.*, 7). Draeger *Synt.* II 619 cites Cic. 1 *Cat.* 31 *si aquam gelidam biberint primo relevari videntur*.

6, 447 *turbinis inmanem vim provomit atque procellat; procellae Flor. 31.*

Procellat “which Wakefield absurdly retains” (Munro) does not occur anywhere else but is no stranger than Milton’s verb

“tempests”; it was read in the first three editions. Lucretius has only *procella*, *procellas* and *procellis* of *procella*, but *procellae* is supported by *Sen. N. Q.* 2, 22, 2 *videamus quanto procellae viribus ruant, quanto vertantur impetu turbines*; and he has the genitive singular at least twice. If there is such a verb as *procellare*, it is related to *procella* as *cenare* to *cena*, *bullare* to *bullula*, *comare* to *coma*, *lacrimare* to *lacrima*; cf. the list in *Roby I* 955. Watson translates “it vomits forth and tempests abroad the impetuous fury of a whirlwind.” In our MSS I can find no example of *t* for *e*; here *procellat* may be due to *provomit*, itself *ᾤπαξ*. He likes to use strange words together.

6, 452 *hoc super in caeli spatio; supero* Lachmann.

In 2, 602 *aeris in spatio* occurs without *supero* or any other similar adjective, and he has *ex supero* several times with no noun. *Superna* (edd. *superne*) in *statione* is found in 6, 192, *superum lumen* 6, 856; *super*, *supera*, *insuper* also occur and Bockemueller read *insuper* here and suggested *hic super*; Lambinus proposed *supera*. Before Lachmann *hoc super* was the vulgate, which Creech explained as “quod supra nostrum caput”; cf. 1, 65. *Superne* is used in the same way in 6, 491, 544, 597; 1, 1105. But *hoc* is doubtful. Why should he all at once particularize the space of heaven? Was there some other sky besides? For several hundred lines he has been referring to meteorological phenomena with only a general reference to the sky, and now “this” expanse of sky is mentioned that can be defended only by 450 *prospectu maris in magno caeloque patenti*, which includes the sea as well, and 483 *hunc caelum* that few are bold enough to read. *Hoc* has nothing to do with *caeli spatio*. The paragraph is exceptional in having no connection, or a very slight one, with the one that precedes; in this it is like 712 and 848. *Hoc super* may be explained in two ways: it either means *super* “above,” or it is adverbial in the sense “as well”; cf. 1, 649; the former suits the sense better, the latter the syntax.

6, 454 *exiguus tamen inter se compressa teneri; compressa Lambinus.*

Lucretius has numerous examples of *premo* and its compounds, and of *prehendo*, and yet there is no example of such a corruption with these words, and I can find no example of the corruption of *ns* into *ss* in other words. *Teneri* is used with *oppressum* in 4, 763 and there is the sequence 5, 484 *cogebant* 486 *condensa coiret* 487 *expressus* 489 *volabant* etc. In 6, 478 *expressa feruntur . . . sufficiunt nubis* occurs and as *haec faciunt* comes here in 455 so in 6, 181 *expressa repente semina quae faciunt*. The difference in meaning is on the one hand "although they be but intertwined . . . yet press together and cling to one another" and "yet catch and cling to one another." The difficulty in the voice of the participle is no greater with one reading than with the other. The change from *compressa* to *comprendunt* in 456 is no greater than from *teneri* to *congregantur*. The emendation is a brilliant one but *compressa* need not be changed. There is no probability of *compressa* standing for *comprensa*; cf. above on 5, 1035.

6, 600 *idque suis confusa velit complere ruinis; adque Lachmann, imque Lambinus.*

Wakefield retained *id* as "*id quod hiatu fecerit*"; Ellis, *Journ. Phil.* 2, 213 as "the void." I suggested in my commentary that *id* might go with *hiatum* taken as a neuter, but I now think *id* is used as in 4, 1274 *idque sua causa consuerunt causa moveri*; and 1, 655 *id quoque*. Creech paraphrased by *illum* which should be supplied in thought, but *idque* means "and so." It occurs in 5, 1434 and 6, 1237 with general reference, and with specific reference in 3, 145 and 4, 1048. There is no good parallel in our MSS for such a corruption of *a* to *i*. For the free use of a neuter pronoun cf. above 4, 615.

6, 624 *verrentes aequora venti; ponti Nicc., ventis Lachmann.*

Ellis keeps *venti*; 5, 266 and 388 *verrentes aequora venti*. The repetition is to our taste "*absurda et sine pondere*" as Lachmann says, but the poet is very fond of repetitions, especially of favorite phrases. It is not strange that six lines later

he has repeated *venti nubila portant* from 4, 443, and 635-638 from 5, 269-272; this sixth book is remarkable for echoes of phrases that occurred in the earlier books. Probably if the book had been revised the poet would have made some change—perhaps *validi* for the first *venti*—but in his first draft he repeated the phrase from 5, 266.

6, 846 *fit scilicet in coeundo; ut Lambinus.*

Wakefield kept *in*. With *coitque* 845, *coeundo* 846, *exprimat* 847 cf. *coibant* 5, 450, *coibant* 452, *expressere* 453; *cogebant* 5, 484, *coiret* 486, *expressus* 487. In *coeundo* is most natural here, but whether *ut* can be omitted is a question. It is omitted in O and Q in 3, 254 and 6, 116 where it is generally supplied by editors, and in 6, 231 item of the MSS is now read—*curat diffugiant*; in 6, 406 *vult caveamus*. In 4, 668 OQ have *fit prius convenient*, where editors rightly supply *ut* in one way or another. I am inclined to keep “*in*” here, although I should hesitate to do so in the passage in Book 4, by reason of the haste and incompleteness of the sixth book. It is easier to supply *ut* paleographically in all other places where it is omitted than it would be here.

6, 870 *calido miscente vapore; gliscente Wakefield.*

Gliscere occurs four times with no MS variation and *ignis gliscens* 1, 474. I can find no example of the corruption of *gl* into *m*. Creech paraphrased *miscente* by *penetrante*. In the Epicurean physics it is not strange that the rarefaction of the earth should be made by ‘mixing’ heat with it. Heat is material: 2, 153 *corpusecula vaporis* meant; 6, 841 *arescit* (*rarescit* edd.) *quia terra calore et semina si quae vaporis habet*. This heat streams off sometimes: 4, 90 *odor fumus vapor e rebus abundant*; it is “mixed” 3, 232 *aura mixta vapore nec calor est quisquam cui non sit mixtus et aer*; 6, 371 *et calor extremis primo cum frigore mixtus*. The thing with which another is mixed is often omitted: 4, 224; 5, 442, 1290. Watson translated “as his active heat mingles with it.” Again, *glisco* is a word of degree; he never uses *vapor* or *calor* or *ignis* with *creresco* or *augeo*, and only once *ignis* with *glisco*—the fire of

love spread in the heart of Paris 1, 471; furor iurgia gaudia gliscunt but not material objects. In our passage there was no heat to increase because it all left the night before: 865 penitus frigescit terra coitque, 867 exprimat in fontem quae semina cumque habet ignis; and in 871 it is the primordia ignis that return because at first the rarefaction admits the entrance of small particles only.

6, 899 semina habent ignis stuppae taedaeque tenentes; tepentis Lachmann, latentis Bernays.

Lambinus compares 1, 1069 amplexi habent, but the line is mutilated. Habent tenentes means "have in possession"; tenentes here corresponds to ἔχοντες and so Faber took it; the poet has fallen into a Grecism, probably carried over from his Greek authority, whoever he was. One should be slow in removing Grecisms from this sixth book. Tenet should also be retained in 862 and tenenda in 83.

6, 908 quam Magneta vocant patrio de nomine Grai; quem Q corr., quae Q.

Quam is right because the magnet was ἡ λίθος Μαγνητης; the line with the one following is parenthetical. Cf. 3, 100; 6, 424.

6, 1007 in vacuum prolapsa cadunt coniuncta fit utqui; ut quae Marullus, utque Naugerius.

Utqui has been restored by Munro in 1, 755; 2, 17; 3, 738, and is probable here. Therefore there is the alternative of retaining qui or of supplying a connective. The use of fit uti in 1033, 1028 looks toward the omission of the que here. The missing particle may be supplied by a semicolon after coniuncta, as in 6, 1248, 217, 292, 720, 771, 826.

6, 1012 quo minus est mirum quod dicitur ex elementis; quo ducitur Lachmann, quod ducitur Bernays, [ex elementis] Bernays.

The phenomenon is due to the streaming of the particles from the iron ring into the vacuum made by the magnet. He has stated the principle involved and has mentioned the atoms several times: semina 1003, primordia 1006, elementa 1009, and

now he concludes "therefore it is the less strange, considering what is declared concerning the particles, if bodies in large numbers springing from the iron can not pass into the void without the ring following; it does do it, etc." The difficulty has arisen on account of *ex* which is used *metri gratia* for *de* as in 6, 476-7; 1, 283, where see my note.

6, 1059 at partim; et Lachmann.

Because elsewhere *et* is used with *partim*, but *partim* also occurs several times without any conjunction. It can be retained as pointing the contrast between *pondere* and *raro corpore*: "some because they are heavy, but others because rare." In 5, 650-651 there is the sequence at . . . aut, and in 5, 680-682 -que . . . aut, so slight is the difference. See above on 5, 1067.

6, 1064 inpellant ut eum Magnesia flumina saxa; eo Q, eam Marullus; Magnesi Lambinus; flumine Flor. 31; saxi Lambinus.

Flumine is more likely to be correct on account of *fluctu* 1053.

6, 1069 glutine materies taurino iungitur una; uno Lachmann; una was retained by Lambinus.

In 1068 *saxa colescere sola calce*, mortar is the only thing that makes stones grow together into one (lead would show the joint); 1074 the purple is incorporated into the wool—*iungitur uno corpore*; 1078 there is only one thing that "copulates" gold with gold—*chrysocola*; in 1079 tin joins brass to brass, but he does not say that it is the only thing, nor does he say in 1069 that glue is the only thing by which "materies iungitur." Is there no way of fastening wood except by glue? and only by glue from bulls? Fish glue was used as much as bull's glue (Bluemner *Techn.* 1, 287), and in modern times resin mixed with wax or plaster, or thickened oil is used as an adhesive for wood, materials possessed by the Romans. *Una* means 'together' here, and *iungitur una* stands for *coniungitur*; the *cum* appears in the other examples—*colescere*, *iungitur cum corpore*, *copulat*; it is implied in *misceri* and expressed again in *coplata* 1088.

6, 1109 usque ad nigra virum percocto saecla calore; colore
Lachmann on account of 722 nigra virum percocto saecla
colore.

In both passages percoctaque saecla calore was read by Laminus. It is possible that here there is a case of hypallage, percocto standing for percocta to be taken logically with saecla and syntactically with calore: "and so right on to the black races of men parched with heat." Whether or no colore is the correct reading in both places or in the former only, percocto colore is an unexampled phrase—"thoroughly baked color." Other cases of extraordinary hypallage have been mentioned above.

6, 1264 multa siti prostrata viam per proque voluta | corpora
silanos ad aquarum strata tacebant; protracta Lachmann,
iacebant Veronensis.

As Thucydides has *ἔκειντο*, at first sight iacebant seems necessary, but that is expressed by strata. Tacebant is most expressive in indicating the silence of death, and there is nothing in the entire paragraph 1252-1275 to break the silence. Note 1254 languebat, iacebant, 1268 languida; not until the closing words 1276-1286 is there any implication of sound, and the climax of it comes only in 1282 sq. in the description of the horror of the survivors: 1284 ingenti clamore locabant, 1286 rixantes. Again, corpora iacebant we can understand, but why corpora protracta? It was not the bodies that were dragged out by thirst but the persons who animated them. So primitive man "taciti respectabant somnoque sepulti" until the sun should rise again, 5, 974. Prostrata is suitable to express the exhaustion of thirst, and many sufferers have been found on our western deserts with plain signs of provoluta following on prostrata. Strata tacebant is an expression equivalent to tacita sternebantur, the latter a verb form that he did not care to use for obvious reasons. The translation is "many bodies were laid low by thirst and crawled along the street to the fountains of water and in silence were stretched out there." Earlier in the description, 1173 sq., where the delirium of thirst is described,

the patients, not their bodies, are the subjects of the verbs. In 1267 he mentions still living patients, with different nouns and verbs to express the thought.

6, 1271 sordeque sepulta; sordique Lambinus.

Sordē is like tabē 1, 806 and contagē 3, 734.

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THE SEPARATION OF THE ATTRIBUTIVE
ADJECTIVE FROM ITS SUBSTANTIVE
IN PLAUTUS

BY

WINTHROP L. KEEP

PREFATORY NOTE

In June, 1909, I submitted to the Faculty of the University of California a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, entitled "The Separation of the Attributive Adjective from its Substantive in Plautus." The present essay is an abstract of this dissertation, as somewhat revised and shortened after further study and reflection.

I desire to express here my great gratitude to Professor H. W. Prescott for assisting me in selecting the subject of the dissertation, and giving his helpful advice and criticism in the early stages of the paper. Thanks are also due to Professors Merrill and Richardson for their kindly interest, and especially to Professor H. C. Nutting for his close criticism of the paper and his helpful suggestions.

W. L. KEEP.

OAKLAND, CALIF., March, 1911.

INTRODUCTION

Normally in Plautus and, in fact, in all the other early Latin poets, the attributive adjective either immediately precedes or immediately follows its substantive.¹ A few concrete examples, taken at random, will illustrate the truth of this statement. The phrase *res divina* occurs twenty-four times in Plautus, and the two words are separated only once (E. 415); *supremus Iuppiter*, out of its ten occurrences, gives only one case of separation (Ps. 628); *erilis filius* (or *filia*) only two cases out of eighteen occurrences (B. 351 and Ci. 749). Such statistics might be quoted indefinitely.²

The present paper is a study of the comparatively infrequent instances in our author, in which, within the verse,³ the attributive adjective is separated from its substantive. I have endeavored to point out, where possible, what are the probable factors that bring about such separations, but to a great extent the treatment can be only descriptive, as too often we are not in a position to assume the author's point of view, and to penetrate his motives for adopting a given word-order.

Before we proceed to consider the instances of separation in detail, a few observations of a general nature upon the subject may be helpful. Whenever an attributive adjective precedes, and is separated from its substantive by one or more words, as in

Magnásque adportavísse divitiás domum, (S. 412)

Pulmóneum edepol nímis velim vomitúm vomas. (R. 511)

¹ In order to get as much light as possible on Plautine usage by way of comparison, I read practically all the early Latin poetry written before 100 B.C., also the early inscriptions, and noted all the instances in these authors in which an adjective is separated from its substantive. As far as the collocation of the adjective and substantive is concerned, the usage of all these authors seems strikingly similar to that of Plautus.

² The reader is referred to two most useful books: Rassow, *De Plauti substantivis*, Leipzig, 1881, = *JHB. Supplbd.* 12 (1881, 639-732; and Helwig, *Adjectives in Plautus* (St. Petersburg, 1893) (in Russian, but containing in roman type an alphabetical list of the adjectives used by our author). By means of the alphabetical lists contained in these two works, all the occurrences in Plautus of any adjective or noun can readily be located.

³ Of course I have omitted all instances of separation by the verse, as such have already been treated by Prescott, "Some Phases of the Relation of Thought to Verse in Plautus," *Univ. Calif. Publ. Class. Phil.*, vol. 1, no. 7, 1907. This work was of great assistance to me in the preparation of the present paper.

there is always the possibility to be reckoned with that such an adjective acquires emphasis by occupying this position; on the other hand, when the adjective is separated from, and follows its substantive, it may be more or less amplifying,⁴ as in

Nam ós columnatúm poetæ esse indauidi bárbaro, (Ml. 211)

However, we must always be on our guard against reading too much meaning into the fact that an adjective is separated from its noun, as sometimes it is mere caprice on the poet's part whether it is separated or not, and if separated, whether it precedes or follows, as is clearly attested by the four passages below:

Nímia memoras míra. sed vidístin uxorém meam? (Am. 616)

Nímia mira mémoras: si istæc véra sunt, divinitus (Am. 1105)

Quod ómnis homines fácere oportet, dúm id modo fiát bono. (Am. 996)

Quín amet et scórtum ducat, quód bono fiát modo. (Mr. 1022)

Metrical considerations can have nothing to do with the question here, as in many cases of separation, since the meter is the same in Am. 616 and 1105, and *bono* and *modo* are metrically interchangeable.

In this paper I have confined my discussion to ordinary attributive adjectives, leaving out of account pronominal adjectives⁵ and cardinal numerals. I have also excluded the lyrical portions of the plays. Trivial separations, common to prose, such as those by the enclitics *-que*, *-ve*, *-ne*, and a preposition, are disregarded. The text employed is that of Goetz and Schoell.

I. CONSCIOUS ART-SEPARATIONS.

Certain separations of the adjective from its substantive are undoubtedly due to conscious art on the poet's part. Naturally the first of these conscious art-separations to be mentioned are those in which the adjective and its substantive occupy the opposite extremities of the same verse,⁶ as in the following:

Minóre nusquam béne fui dispéndio. (Mn. 485)

⁴ Prescott, *loc. cit.*, 218.

⁵ This phase of the subject has been treated by Nilsson, *de collocatione pron. adi. apud Plautum et Terentium*, Lunds Universitets Aarsskrift, 37, 1901.

⁶ Cf. Norden, *Aeneis* Buch vi, 382 sq., for a full and interesting discussion of this collocation in Virgil and several other authors.

Cf. Am. 481, As. 311, 599, Al. 49,⁷ B. 585, Cp. 64, Ca. 13, Ci. 587, Cu. 221, Po. 1080, S. 526.⁸

A slightly different type, in which another attributive adjective, also in agreement with the substantive, occurs in the interior of the verse, is represented by

Magno átque solido múltat infortúnio: (Mr. 21)

Cf. Am. 6, Mn. 520, Pe. 573,⁹ 683, R. 597, E. 18, Tr. 331.

Two examples of the reverse type appear below; the first has alliteration as an attendant feature:

Mercátor venit húc ad ludos Lémnius (Ci. 157)
Frustrátiónem | hódie iniciam máxumam. (Am. 875)

For other instances of this collocation with alliteration cf. Mn. 1, Po. 1125, S. 258; without alliteration, B. 198, 229, 256, Cu. 227, Mn. 240, Ps. 72, 694, 1167, R. 42, 843.

The tendency of long adjectives and nouns, metrically suitable, to stand at the verse-end¹⁰ is doubtless a factor to be reckoned with in a number of the instances of separation so far discussed. (Cf. below, p. 156.)

It is a well-known fact that many Greek and Latin poets are fond of placing an attributive adjective immediately before the principal caesura or diaeresis, and its substantive at the end of the verse, or vice versa.¹¹ While Plautus does not adopt this balanced arrangement so frequently as some of the later Latin poets, still he has quite a number of instances like the following:

Quod cúm peregrini cúbui uxore militis. (B. 1009)
Ét tibi sunt gemini ét trigemini, sí te bene habes, filii. (Ml. 717)

Cf. Am. 471, 863, B. 420, Cp. 105, 185,¹² Ci. 749, Cu. 200, 709,

⁷ In Al. 49 the adnominal word-play *grandíbo gradum*, is a factor in the situation to be noted. Cf. also R. 597.

⁸ With S. 526 cf. Terence, *Heaut.* 539:
Magnárum saepe id rémediúm aegritúdinumst.

⁹ The anaphora in Pe. 571-573 should be noted.

¹⁰ Cf. Prescott, 206 sqq.; also 235 sqq., for remarks on adjectives of cretic measurement.

¹¹ Boldt, *de liberiore linguae graecae et latinae collocatione verborum capita selecta* (Göttingen, 1884), 79: "Tali verborum collocatione plerumque id, quod sub finem positum est, maiorem consequitur accentum, saepe autem utrumque vocabulum seiunctione emphasin quandam exercet."

¹² The interlocked word-order in Cp. 185 is probably intentional.

Mn. 4, 231, Mr. 398, Ml. 774, Mo. 808, Po. 362, 746, 1164, Ps. 548, 732, 893, S. 163, 214, 387, Tu. 87^b, 350, 447, Frivolaria VII.

Not infrequently alliteration or adnominal word-play is a feature of this word order:

Érogitare, méo minore quíd sit factum filio. (Cp. 952)

Neque tám facetis, quám tu vivis, victibus. (Mo. 45)

Cf. Am. 475, 976, B. 351, 761, Cp. 27, Ps. 158, 628, 1232, S. 132, Tu. 892.

The reverse word-order (substantive before caesura and adjective at the end of the verse) sometimes occurs, as in

Quoi sérvitutum dí danunt lenóniam (Ps. 767)

These instances, however, I have classed under other categories of examples, as apparently the length of the adjective, or its metrical convenience, is the most important factor in producing such separations.

Next to be considered are a number of conscious art-separations due primarily to Plautus' fondness for adnominal word-play and *figura etymologica*.¹³

Sórdido vitam óblectabas páne in pannis inopia: (As. 142)¹⁴

Pulmónéum edepol nímis velim vomitúm vomas. (R. 511)

Ómnium hominum exópto ut flam miserorum misérrimus. (Mn. 817)

Mále formido: nóvi ego huius móreꝝ morosi malos. (Po. 379)¹⁵

For very similar instances cf. B. 187, 490, Cp. 333, 914, Cu. 533, E. 306, Po. 991, Tu. 278. Cf. also Am. 137, 204, 605, 1116, Cp. 774, Ci. 231, Mn. 274, 447, Mr. 847, Ml. 198, 228, 309, 734, Po. 308, 759, Ps. 704, R. 100, 305, 886, S. 63, 383.

In his desire for sound-effects, Plautus apparently sometimes separates the adjective from its noun primarily to avail himself of alliterative possibilities.¹⁶

¹³ Of course other factors, such as metrical convenience, often must be taken into account.

¹⁴ Many of the instances of adnominal word-play that concern us here are more fully discussed by Raebel, *de usu adnominationis apud Romanorum poetas comicos* (Halle, 1882), *passim*.

¹⁵ Boldt, *op. cit.*, 93, calls attention to the elaborate interlocked order in Po. 379.

¹⁶ Buchhold, *de adliterationis apud veteres Romanorum poetas usu* (Leipzig, 1883), *passim*.

Lárgitur pecúlium: omnem in térgo thensaurúm gerit. (As. 277)

Át nunc dehinc scito illum ante omnes mínumi mortalém preti,
(As. 858)¹⁷

Líberos homínés per urbem módico magis par ést gradu

ire: (Po. 522)¹⁸

Perfidiae laudes grátiasque habémus merito mágnas, (As. 545)

For other instances of separation largely due to alliteration cf. B. 988, Mr. 363, Ml. 778, Pe. 559, Po. 407, 968, 1245, Ps. 369, 761, R. 87, 101, 636. Of course there are numerous other cases of separation where alliteration is an attendant feature. Throughout this paper attention will be called to many such instances.

II. SEPARATIONS LARGELY DUE TO LENGTH AND METRICAL CONVENIENCE OF THE ADJECTIVE.

Long adjectives, metrically suitable, tend to stand at the verse-end. The same is true of many adjectives of cretic measurement.¹⁹ Even adjectives of iambic and pyrrhic measurement show this tendency to some extent.²⁰ Hence it is not at all strange that in a large number of instances the substantives with which these adjectives are in agreement precede the latter by one or more intervening words. It is true that in many of these cases other factors, such as sound-effects, must be taken into account. Frequently the substantive immediately precedes the principal caesura or diaeresis,²¹ giving the balanced arrangement mentioned above (p. 155).

¹⁷ By means of this word-order the alliterating syllables *mi-* and *mor-* both receive the metrical accent, which greatly heightens the pleasing effect. *Mínumi preti* (gen. sing.) occurs in seven other passages in Plautus, always without separation, and with *preti* always at the verse-end, as here. For an interesting parallel to this passage cf. Naevius, Incert. Fab. 1 (Ribbeck II, p. 25):

Patí necesse est múlta mortalés mala.

¹⁸ The contrast between *líberos* and *modico* is heightened by the fact that one stands at the beginning of the verse, and the other immediately after the diaeresis.

¹⁹ Cf. Prescott, 207 and footnote 2; also 234-239.

²⁰ Below are a few statistical illustrations of the above statements; the figures after each adjective indicate respectively the number of times it occurs at the verse-end, and the total number of its occurrences: *pauperculus*, 4-5; *acerrumus*, 6-7; *pauvillulus*, 6-8; *praesentarius*, 5-5; *argentus*, 7-7; *argentarius*, 18-19; *lenonius*, 9-11; *Atticus*, 10-18; *maxumus*, 39-86; *aureus*, 15-27; *mutuus*, 14-26; *barbarus*, 5-7; *merus*, 12-23. Statistics for any other adjective can be found by consulting Helwig.

²¹ Al. 525, B. 1018, Cu. 239, Mn. 6, 58, 67, 102, Mr. 811, Mo. 361, 621, 828, Pe. 512, Po. 139, 651, 705, 708, Ps. 80, 100, 424, 767, R. 70, S. 768, Tr. 216, 847, 962, Tu. 43, 697.

Let us first consider adjectives of four or more syllables in length. Alliteration is an attendant feature of the separation in Cu. 205:

Inter nos amóre utemur sémper subrepticio?

Cf. also Al. 171, B. 94, Cp. 901, E. 159, Mn. 595, Mr. 193, Ml. 1177, Mo. 361, 913, Po. 705, R. 69, S. 138, Tu 697.

The following is a typical instance in which length is perhaps the only factor producing the separation:

Atque adeo, ut ne légi fraudem fáciant aleáriae, (Ml. 164)

Cf. B. 675, Cp. 775, Cu. 239, 660, Mn. 6, 102, 436, 845, Mo. 404, 621, Pe. 97, Po. 651, 708, Ps. 100, 146, 303, 424, 706, 766, 767, R. 70, 1320, S. 760, Tr. 216, Tu. 72, 880.

Atticus is a good representative of adjectives of cretic (and dactylic) measurement. In ten of its eighteen occurrences it stands at the end of the verse. Three times when in this position it concerns us:

Ego illam reperiam.—Hinc Athenis civis eam emit Atticus: (E. 602)

Civisne esset an peregrinus.—Civem esse aibant Atticum. (Mr. 635)

Immo Athenis natus altusque educatusque Atticis. (R. 741)

For similar instances of other adjectives of cretic (and dactylic) measurement in this position cf. *maximus* (Am. 782, Mn. 67, Mr. 632, 811, Ml. 75, Pe. 512, Po. 842, Ps. 897), *omnia* (Am. 948, B. 1018, Po. 704, 726, R. 639, Tr. 1168, Tu. 774, 798), *aureus* (Am. 144, 260, Cu. 439), *publicus* (Am. 524, Pe. 75, Tr. 1057), *mutuus* (Cu. 68, Ps. 80),²² *proximus* (As. 776, R. 84, 561), *alterum* (Mn. 38, 58, 1088), *parvulus* (R. 39, S. 161), *optumus* (Cp. 946, Ml. 1210), *plumbeus* (Ca. 258, Tr. 962), *barbarus* (Ml. 211, Mo. 828), *pessumus* (Ps. 270, R. 40), and also Am. 280,²³ Al. 525, 626, Cp. 169, Ml. 1178, Pe. 571,²⁴ Po. 139, R. 574, 1010.

Four times, when standing at the end of the verse, *merus* is separated from its noun:

Eam ego, ut matre fuerat natum, vini | eduxi meri. (Am. 430)

Factumst illud, ut ego illuc vini hincam ebiberim meri. (Am. 431)

Ne mihi | incocta detis. Rem loquitur meram. (Pe. 93)

Si semel amoris poculum accepit meri. (Tu. 43)

²² Cf. Prescott 234, for the suggestion that *mutuum* may have a substantival force.

²³ Note the alliteration in Am. 280.

²⁴ In Pe. 571 the artificial arrangement *ferreas—ferrea* should be noted.

For other adjectives of iambic and pyrrhic measurement in this position cf *bonus* (Am. 996, B. 1022, E. 107, Ml. 733, Tr. 28), *malus* (Mo. 531, Ps. 492, 974, Tr. 128, 446,²⁵ 847), *novus* (E. 229, Mo. 466, S. 768), *vetus* (Ci. 505, Mr. 771), *gravis* (As. 55, E. 557), also Al. 606, Mn. 908, Mr. 999, Po. 508, Tu. 797.

III. INTERVENING WORDS OF AN ENCLITIC NATURE.

In the following section of this paper I propose to present a large number of examples in which it is probable that the enclitic nature of the intervening word accounts for the separation. Wackernagel²⁶ has shown that short enclitic words, including many pronouns, tend to occupy the second or third place in their sentence. The following lines illustrate how this tendency frequently affects the position of the adjective:

Voluptábilem mihi nántium tuo advéntu adportas Thésprío. (E. 21)
 Canóra hic voce suá tinnire téperent, (Po. 33)
 Avis mé ferae consímilem faciam, ut praédictas. (Cp. 123)
 Peiórem ego hominem mágisque vorsuté malum. (Ps. 1017)
 Dí me omnes magní minutique ét etiam patellárii (Ci. 522)

There are a great many other passages in which an intervening pronoun or pronominal adverb occupies the second or third place in its sentence or clause.²⁷ Sometimes, by the law of pronominal attraction, two pronouns intervene, as in Ca. 584, E. 302, 669, Mn. 199. In Mn. 551 and Tr. 1030 a pronoun and *quidem* occupy this position; in Tr. 68 an elided pronoun and *ut*. The following lines are of especial interest:

Stílís me totum usque úlmeis conseríbito. (Ps. 545)
 Locúm sibi velle líberum praebérier, (Po. 177 and 657)

In the first, *totum usque* simply amplifies *me*; in the second, *sibi velle* is probably a stereotyped phrase.

Often the intervening pronominal word does not occupy the

²⁵ In Tr. 446 the chiasmic arrangement of *bonis* and *malas* should be observed.

²⁶ *Indog. Forsch.*, i, 406 ff.

²⁷ Am. 525, As. 69, Al. 324, 340, 482, B. 55, 913, 1141, Cp. 355, 859, 861, Ci. 369, 670, E. 693, Mr. 49, 141, 477, Ml. 21, 731, Mo. 371, 532, 779, Pe. 238, 292, Po. 75, 317, Ps. 69, 329, 474, 584, 590, 968, 1200, R. 303, 476, 1100, S. 259, 365, 420, Tr. 365, 453, 655, 997, Tu. 131, 285, 438, 812, Vid. 85, Frag. fab. inc. vii.

second or third place in its sentence;²⁸ sometimes, however, alliteration may explain this fact, as *probri me maxumi* (Ml. 364), *partem mihi maiorem* (Ml. 711), *undas me maioris* (R. 167).

Several forms of the verb *sum* (especially the monosyllabic forms) are undoubtedly enclitics. This fact probably accounts for the large number of instances in which these forms separate the adjective from its substantive. Below are three typical cases:

Itém genus est lenónium inter hómines meo quidem ánimo (Cu. 499)

Magní sunt oneris: quícquid imponás, vehunt. (Mo. 782)

Scio te bona esse vóce: ne clamá nimis. (Mo. 576)

The complete list of instances is as follows:

Sum: Am. 34, Al. 2, Mo. 564, Ps. 1025.

Es (contracted): As. 511, B. 74, Ml. 49, Mo. 176, Tu. 134.

Es (uncontracted): Cp. 427, Mo. 251.

Est (contracted):²⁹ Am. 506, 1054, Al. 235, Cp. 104, Ci. 80, 492, Cu. 15, 49, 189, E. 163, 425, 675, Mr. 378, Ml. 68, 682, Pe. 516, 547, 830, Po. 10, 1370, Ps. 791, R. 144, 1156, 1387, S. 116, 200, 524, 748, Tr. 24, Vid. 31.

Est (uncontracted): Am. 484, B. 120, Cu. 49, 499, Mn. 906, 1087, Ml. 665, Po. 200, Ps. 782, R. 1160, Tu. 149, 246.

Estis: Cu. 501.

Sunt: Mn. 94, Mr. 969, Mo. 782, Pe. 243, Po. 584, Ps. 268.

Sis: As. 726, Mr. 890, Mo. 396.

Esse:³⁰ Am. 1090, Ci. 660, E. 415, Mr. 966, Ml. 68, Mo. 576, Pe. 113,³¹ Tr. 456.

Another class of enclitic words, sometimes separating the adjective from its noun, are the asseverative particles *hercle*, *edepol*, *mecastor*.³² Three instances of this collocation are *Pulcra edepol dos* (E. 180), *Conceptis hercle verbis* (Ps. 1056), *Lepidus mecastor mortalis* (Tu. 949). Cf. also E. 192, 715, Pe. 193, Po. 45,

²⁸ Am. 926, B. 570, Cp. 539, Ca. 264, Ci. 778, E. 299, Ml. 751, Mo. 763, Pe. 565, Po. 895, Ps. 228, 729, R. 546, 999, 1147, 1221 Tr. 97, 1139, Tu. 35, 216. Before we leave this phase of the subject, three instances in which a pronoun and its governing preposition intervene should be mentioned: As. 918, Tr. 548, 1011.

²⁹ I have disregarded the intervening contracted form of *sum* in such instances as *unicust mihi filius* (Ca. 264).

³⁰ The infinitive *esse* frequently becomes monosyllabic by elision.

³¹ Infinitive of *edo*.

³² Wackernagel, *loc. cit.* 423 sq.

Ps. 992. In the following lines, one of these three words intervenes in combination with one other word: As. 471, B. 999, Mn. 1013,³³ Mr. 442, 521, 567, Mo. 657, Pe. 546, Po. 978.

Probably the adverbs *quidem*³⁴ (As. 762, Ml. 1282, R. 529), and *quoque*³⁵ (Mo. 1110, Tr. 753) owe their intervention to their enclitic nature.

IV. SINGLE INTERVENING WORDS.

In the next section of this paper will be presented all the instances of separation, not already discussed, in which a single word intervenes between the adjective and its noun. I shall classify these examples on a mechanical basis, according as the intervening word is a verb, noun, adverb, etc.

By far the largest class consists of instances in which some form of the verb separates the adjective from its noun. Sometimes the adjective begins the line, as in

Erilis praevertit metus: accorro ut seiscam quid velit: (Am. 1069)

Cf. Am. 616, B. 782, 838, Mn. 1000, Ps. 17, R. 552, 764,³⁶ S. 412.

Another type is represented by

Gratesque agam eique ut Arabico fumificem odore amoene: (Ml. 412)

Cf. Am. 328, 785, As. 575, Al. 192, Cp. 56, Ca. 332, Ci. 6, 98, 128, E. 397, Mr. 859, Ml. 763, Pe. 313, Po. 331, 901, 1258, R. 530, 1123, S. 772, Tu. 484, 781. In Po. 964 and Tu. 136 an elided monosyllable and a verb intervene.

An exceedingly common word-order is represented by six instances in which the noun *manus*, standing at the end of the verse, is separated from its adjective by some form of the verb:

Quom Priami patriam Pergamum divina moenitum manu. (B. 926)

Perque conservitium commune quod hostica evenit manu, (Cp. 246)

Haec per dexteram tuam te dextera retinens manu (Cp. 442)

Si quisquam hanc liberali asseruisset manu, (Cu. 668)

Lepidis tabellis, lepida conscriptis manu? (Ps. 28)³⁷

Tam mihi quam illi libertatem hostilis eripuit manus: (Cp. 311)

³³ In Mn. 1013 and Mr. 442 the alliteration should be noted.

³⁴ Lane, *Latin Grammar* (1903), 93, (6).

³⁵ Lindsay, *Syntax of Plautus* (Oxford, 1907), 92.

³⁶ The chiasmic arrangement of R. 764 gives a certain pathos. Cf. Tr. 446.

³⁷ For other instances in which the same adjective stands at the beginning of the verse and immediately after the caesura cf. Cp. 333, Ml. 228; also Am. 785.

Metrical convenience is perhaps here a factor to be taken into account, as *manu* (abl. sing.) in forty-nine out of a total of eighty-two occurrences, is at the verse-end, *manus* (nom. sing.) in six out of nine, and *manum* in thirty-one out of fifty. Other nouns often standing at the verse-end, and in more than one instance separated from the adjective by an intervening verb, are *modus* (Am. 119, B. 507^b, Mr. 1022, R. 895),³⁸ *via* (As. 54, B. 692, Cu. 35), *fides* (As. 199, Ml. 456, Po. 439), *bonum* (Pe. 63, 74, Tr. 220), *gratia* (Ci. 7, Tr. 376, 659), *locus* (Ca. 537, R. 1185), *dies* (Pe. 115, S. 638). There are also numerous other instances of this collocation.³⁹ *Ut* and a verb intervene in Am. 490, As. 695, and Ca. 558; in Al. 630 a verb and elided monosyllable.

In the instances of separation just treated, the adjective preceded its substantive. Many examples of the reverse word order occur, however, as

Caúsiám habeas férrugineam et scútulam ob oculos láneam:

(Ml. 1178)

Cf. Am. 189, Al. 191, B. 370, 422, 513, 566,⁴⁰ 785, Cp. 862, 918, Mn. 232, 858, Mr. 41, Ml. 1179, Mo. 673, 1122, Po. 1026, R. 325, 753, 977, 1412, S. 209, Tr. 85, 171.

The many instances in which the adjective is at the verse-end, and is separated from its preceding substantive merely by an intervening verb, have already been discussed, chiefly in connection with separations due to the length or metrical convenience of the adjective.

The great number of cases in which a verb slips in between an adjective and its substantive would seem to indicate that such a separation was not considered a violent one. Even the early sepulchral monuments sometimes exhibit this word order:

Eheu, heu Taracei ut acerbo es deditus fato. (C.I.L., I, 1202)

Tu qui secura spatius mente viator (I, 1220)

Concordeaque pari viximus ingenio. (*Ibidem*)

³⁸ Cf. also B. 490 (already discussed under adnominal word-play).

³⁹ Am. 190, 785, 1088, 1140, As. 34, Al. 313, 595, B. 71, 446, 590, Cp. 476, 722, 780, Ca. 6, 469, 511, Ci. 232, 701, Cu. 537, Mn. 73, 828, Ml. 547, Mo. 1141, Pe. 480, Po. 915, Ps. 312, 1228, R. 609, S. 500, Tu. 517.

⁴⁰ Note the alliteration in B. 566.

With the exception of limiting genitives⁴¹ (As. 520, Cu. 334, Mr. 547, Po. 451, 524, R. 311, 402, 1318, 1344), and vocatives⁴² (Mn. 506, Mr. 710, R. 1151), a noun seldom intervenes between the adjective and its substantive. The instances yet remaining to be mentioned are *de summo adulescens loco* (Al. 28), *servi facinus frugi* (Al. 587), *maxumam multo fidem* (Al. 667),⁴³ *in via petronem publica* (Cp. 821), *meliores opus auspicio* (Mn. 1149), *festivam mulier operam* (Ml. 591), *Fortuna faculam lucrifera* (Pe. 515).⁴⁴

Still rarer are the instances in which an adjective intervenes:

Quod mé sollicitat plúrumis miserúm modis. (Al. 66)

Véluti Megadorús temptat me ómnibus miserúm modis: (Al. 462)⁴⁵

To these examples are to be added *cum opulento pauper homine* (Al. 461),⁴⁶ and *advocatos meliust celeris* (Po. 568).

Intervening adverbs need not detain us long. *Quidem* and *quoque* have already been classed as enclitics (p. 160). *Vero* (Al. 285 and Mo. 15), *adeo* (As. 763 and Mo. 280), *profecto* (Ml. 1264), *usquam* (Mr. 35), *umquam* (Mn. 594), and *magis* (S. 485) need little comment. More worthy of note are *postremo* (Po. 1369), *minus* (B. 672), *inde* (Ps. 333), *hodie* (Pe. 474 and S. 459), *cito* (B. 202), *nunc* (R. 533), *semper* (Tu. 388), *palam* (Tu. 819), and *adaequest* (Cp. 999).

Conjunctions intervene as follows: *ut* (Am. 14, Mr. 112, Mo. 811, Po. 5, 15, 575),⁴⁷ *si* (As. 947, Cp. 202, Tu. 305), *autem* (Pe. 695), *ergo* (Po. 1051).

⁴¹ A limiting genitive frequently intervenes in prose; e.g., *summa oratoris eloquentia*.

⁴² Because of its parenthetical nature, an intervening vocative interrupts the thought only slightly.

⁴³ Note that a form of *fidēs* begins and ends this line.

⁴⁴ *Mores morosi malos* (Po. 379) has already been discussed under cases of adnominal word-play.

⁴⁵ Alliteration, interlocked order and metrical convenience are factors to be noted in Al. 66 and 462. For other cases of *modis* at the verse-end cf. above Am. 119, etc. (p. 161).

⁴⁶ Doubtless the juxtaposition of *opulento* and *pauper* is intentional.

⁴⁷ The word preceding the intervening *ut* always ends in an elided vowel, except in Mr. 112.

V. MISCELLANEOUS SEPARATIONS.

There remain yet untreated a large class of examples in which the adjective, whether it precedes or follows the noun, is separated from the latter by two or more intervening words. Frequently the adjective acquires emphasis by preceding. The instances in which *bonus* assumes this position are well worth quoting:

- Et uti bonis vos vóstrosque omnis núntiis
 Me adficere voltis, (Am. 8)⁴⁸
 Hocíne boni esse officium servi existumas, (Mo. 27)
 Bóno med esse ingénio ornatam quam aúro multo mávolo. (Po. 301)
 Bonám dedistis míhi operam.—It ad mé lucrum. (Po. 683)
 Bonám dedistis, ádvocati, operám mihi. (Po. 806)
 Bonámst quod habeas grátiam meritó mihi, (R. 516)
 Bonis ésse oportet déntibus lenám probam: (Tu. 224)

Other adjectives so situated with reference to the substantive are *omnis* (Am. 122, B. 373, Mr. 920, Ml. 662, R. 500, Tu. 876), *multus* (Am. 190,⁴⁹ Cp. 326, 554, Mo. 589, Po. 208, 687, R. 400, S. 87, Tr. 380), *nullus* (Am. 385, Cp. 518, Ci. 653, Mo. 409, 836, 839), *ullus* (As. 775, Po. 450), *magnus* (As. 143, Mn. 201, Ml. 228, Tu. 702), *alter* (Am. 153, B. 719), *alius* (As. 204, 236, Tr. 356, Tu. 936), *maxumus* (Al. 485, Mo. 899), *verus* (Cp. 610, R. 1101), *paucus* (Cp. 1033, Ps. 972). For various other adjectives in this position cf. Al. 622, 767, B. 552, 911, Cp. 258, 897, Ca. 9, 639, Cu. 470, Mn. 167,⁵⁰ 802, Mr. 507, Mo. 195, 357, Pe. 780, Po. 602, Ps. 752, R. 406, Tr. 764, Tu. 767, 782. In many of the cases of separation just mentioned there are extenuating circumstances: for example, at least one of the intervening words is often an enclitic, as *Bono med esse ingenio* (Po. 301). Sometimes we have a stereotyped formula, as *Multa tibi dei dent bona* (Po. 208, 687).

There yet remain to be considered only a few cases in which

⁴⁸ Note that Am. 9 ends with the word *nuntiem*. Cf. Al. 621-22 for a very similar instance.

⁴⁹ It is possible that in Am. 190 there is a reminiscence of Homer, *Iliad* I, 2:

ούλομένην, ή μυρί' Αχαιοίς άλγέ' έθηκεν.

⁵⁰ Note that in Mn. 167 and Tu. 767 the adjective and its noun stand respectively at the beginning of the verse and after the diaeresis.

the adjective is in the interior of the verse, and is separated from its preceding substantive by two or more intervening words. Very frequently an adjective in this position is decidedly amplifying, as will be seen in the following:

- Eos ego hodie omnis contruncabo duobus solis fetibus. (B. 975)
 Ea nunc perierunt omnia.—Oh, Neptune lepide, salve: (R. 358)
 Di illum infeliceant omnes qui post hunc diem (Po. 449)
 Inde sum oriundus.—Di dent tibi omnes quae velis. (Po. 1055)
 Rem elocuta sum tibi omnem: sequere hac me, Selenium, (Ci. 631)
 Rem tibi sum elocutus omnem, Chaeribule, atque admodum. (E. 104)
 Et aurum et argentum fuit lenonis omne ibidem. (R. 396)
 Bona sua med habiturum omnia.—Ausculto lubens. (Tu. 400)

For other adjectives in this position cf. Am. 959, As. 50, 598, Ca. 710, Ci. 103, Mr. 139, 292, Ml. 313, Mo. 841, Pe. 35, Ps. 773, R. 352, 1109, 1133, 1281, 1421. It will be noticed that there, too, one of the intervening words is often an enclitic. Also apparently in some cases we have stereotyped phrases.

In conclusion we may say that many cases of separation are due to conscious art. Sometimes the adjective and substantive occupy the opposite extremities of the same verse; sometimes one immediately precedes the principal caesura or diaeresis, and the other is at the end of the verse. Not a few conscious art-separations are largely due to adnominal word-play and alliteration. Long adjectives and nouns, metrically convenient, many also of cretic, pyrrhic, and iambic measurement, display a very decided tendency to drift to the end of the verse. This tendency is responsible for no small number of separations. Enclitic words, especially certain pronominal words, monosyllabic forms of the verb *sum*, and a few particles, intervene very frequently. Often the separated adjective precedes because it demands emphasis; often it follows because it is amplifying. We must not lose sight of the fact that a combination of two or more of the above mentioned factors is frequently at work producing the separation. A verb seems to slip in very easily and naturally between the adjective and its noun, while except for some good reason, generally patent even to the modern reader, other single words intervene relatively infrequently.

Transmitted April 7, 1911.

THE *'Οαριστός* OF THEOCRITUS

BY

EDWARD B. CLAPP

Theocritean scholars have been inclined to doubt the authenticity of the 27th poem in our collections, the so-called *'Οαριστός*. It is the purpose of this brief paper to attempt to come to the rescue of the disparaged poem, or at least to show upon what an insecure foundation the judgment of those who deny its genuineness will be seen to stand.

The manuscript tradition of the text of Theocritus is an extremely uncertain one. Few of the codices, which we possess, contain all the poems which may be ascribed, even with reasonable certainty, to Theocritus, and none of these are older than the 13th century. It is moreover clear that our manuscripts, such as they are, do not offer, each, a faithful copy of a single archetype, but are rather themselves compilations from a variety of sources. To ascertain exactly what these sources were, and what poems were found in each, is a task of great difficulty,—a difficulty far beyond that of ordinary questions of manuscript genealogy. By a process of complicated and more or less hypothetical source-analysis, to be sure, Ahrens and others have attempted to show that these sources were partly good and partly bad, and that the *'Οαριστός* was not found in the better sources.

Into these questions I cannot enter, since I have not seen the manuscripts, and am therefore unable to form an independent judgment of their origin and worth. I can only express the opinion that not enough has been actually proved to justify us.

on manuscript grounds alone, in denying the Theocritean authorship of the *'Οαριστύς*. A doubt may reasonably be felt, but a positive rejection seems quite unwarranted.

In a matter of this kind, we shall do well to plant ourselves upon firm ground. The *'Οαριστύς* certainly appears, and is ascribed to Theocritus, in several of the best manuscripts, and in some of the earliest printed editions. That it does not appear in all, or nearly all, need not surprise us, for we have an epigram, ascribed in the Scholia to Artemidorus, the famous grammarian of the age preceding Augustus, and included in the Palatine Anthology (9, 205), which seems to furnish a complete and satisfactory explanation of the divergence in our manuscript testimony as to the works of Theocritus. The epigram runs thus:

*Βουκολικαὶ Μοῖσαι, σποράδες ποκά, νῦν δ' ἅμα πᾶσαι
ἐντὶ μιᾷ μάνδρας, ἐντὶ μιᾷ ἀγέλας.*

The meaning of the couplet seems to be clear. The bucolic poems, which had hitherto existed only in a scattered condition, were now brought together into a more or less complete edition by Artemidorus, into one fold and one flock. It would appear that in the generation preceding Augustus, already 200 years after the poet's death, the bucolic poems had not yet been assembled and their canon established. What wonder, then, that we find this condition of uncertainty reflected in our manuscripts? With this circumstance in mind, no significance should be attached to the fact that the *'Οαριστύς* appears in only a few of the codices.

Before leaving the question of the ancient tradition of Theocritus, a fact of considerable significance should be mentioned. In the Florilegium of Stobaeus, 63, 19 (*περὶ Ἀφροδίτης πανδήμου*) we find cited the verse

ἔστι καὶ ἐν κενεοῖσι φιλήμασιν ἀδέα τέρψις,

and ascribed to Theocritus. Now this is the fourth line of the *'Οαριστύς*, and it would seem that this undoubted quotation by Stobaeus, a scholar of great diligence and accuracy, should settle the question of the authenticity of our poem. But we are not yet free from difficulties. It happens that the same verse is

found also in Theocritus 3, 20. How are we to account for this two-fold occurrence of the same verse? Is Theocritus repeating himself, or is the verse genuine in one place and spurious in the other? If we refuse to believe that our poet is repeating himself, we are forced to attempt to decide in which poem the line is original. There can be no question that it fits perfectly in the *Ῥαριστός*. The rustic swain is begging for a kiss, and adds "for even in empty kisses there is sweet delight." But in the third Idyl. as well, the words seem to be quite in place, though Valckenaer took exception to them in the latter place, and declared that the verse, in 3, is interpolated from 27. In this opinion he is supported by Hermann, Meineke, Haupt, and Bücheler. But still further difficulties are introduced by the fact that Idyl 3 is strophic in structure, so that we are unable to delete a verse without finding something to take its place. Yet even here we are not without a resource. For it happens that one of the strophes in Idyl 3, in fact the next following one, contains a superfluous verse. Hence it is easy, if we are so inclined, to believe that the verse in question is genuine in the *Ῥαριστός* and was cited from that poem by Stobaeus; that it was interpolated into Idyl 3, and that as a result of this interpolation, the next following strophe in the latter poem contains a superfluous verse. But since Stobaeus cites elsewhere only from the regular Theocritean canon, which includes poem 3 and does not include poem 27, then still remains room for doubt.

The chief interest of this complicated and uncertain discussion lies in the fact that it illustrates how relentlessly the attack on the authenticity of the *Ῥαριστός* has been waged, and at the same time how insecure is the basis upon which its conclusions must rest. The broad facts remain, that the poem is found, and ascribed to Theocritus, in some of the best manuscripts, and in some of the earliest printed editions, and that it seems to be quoted as Theocritean by Stobaeus.

We pass now to the internal evidence against the genuineness of the *Ῥαριστός*. The argument from verse structure and language is little stronger than that from tradition. Ahrens finds, to be sure, fewer cases of the so-called bucolic diaeresis

(of sufficient importance to be emphasized by a mark of punctuation) in the 'Οαριστίς than in the other strictly bucolic poems of our author. But this difference, if it exists, is measured by very small numbers at best; while the general frequency of this pause, in our poem as compared with Homer, is still very striking. Thus we find, in the 'Οαριστίς, in 70 verses, seven cases of this pause, and in 70 consecutive verses of Idyls 10 and 11, which are unquestioned bucolic poems, there are nine cases. But in the first 70 lines of the Iliad there are but two. So that although this diaeresis may not be as frequent in the 'Οαριστίς as in many of the bucolic poems, yet the tone of its versification is still unquestionably bucolic, Ahrens to the contrary notwithstanding.

Fritzsche, in turn, lays stress upon the fact that the Daphnis of our poem is an ordinary neatherd, son of Lyeidas and Nomaea, and hence an altogether different character from the mythical Daphnis of the tragic history, reputed son of Hermes, who is elsewhere celebrated in Theocritus. But the Daphnis of Idyl 6 (cf. Idyl 9) is also scarcely more than an ordinary neatherd. Why may we not believe that Theocritus himself, in poems of lighter tone, made a beginning of the more familiar use of the name of Daphnis, which was destined to become a favorite in Longus and elsewhere? Fritzsche further objects to the use of the word *μίτραν* (54) as a trochee, contrary to Theocritean usage. He apparently overlooks the fact that the word is a conjecture here. And even if it were not, the irregularity in quantity is supported by the analogous use of *κῶρα* in 51, and in Callimachus, and by similar cases in earlier writers. See G. Meyer, *Gr. Gram.*, p. 57. Fritzsche also calls attention to several expressions in our Idyl which suggest similar turns of expression elsewhere in Theocritus. But such resemblances prove nothing, either for or against the Theocritean authorship of the poem. Still less should any weight be attached to the occasional coincidences with Nonnus, either in language or in thought. Surely Nonnus, in the fifth century of our era, had quite as good a right to imitate Theocritus as Tennyson in the nineteenth, as has been so well pointed out by Mr. Stedman. Finally, Fritzsche doubts

the twice repeated use of the adjective "Paphian," as designating Aphrodite, since Theocritus does not elsewhere use the word. But the connection of the goddess with Paphos was known to the whole Greek world from *θ* 363. And the goddess is called ἡ Παφία, without mention of her name, as in our poem, in Bion 1, 64, in the Anthology often, in the so-called Anacreontics three or four times, as well as repeatedly in Nonnus, while in the 57th Orphic Hymn the expression Παφία κούρη is used in the same sense.

Mr. Cholmeley, the latest English editor of Theocritus, adds his opinion to the number of those who deny the genuineness of our poem. He points out a number of expressions which, in his judgment, indicate the late origin of the 'Οαριστύς. Several of these have already been mentioned. But Cholmeley also cites ἴδε πῶς (45), δίδου ὄφρα (6), σείο (6), and ναὶ μάν (26) as obviously later than Theocritus. With regard to these locutions, it should be borne in mind that we possess far too little of genuine Alexandrian poetry, in the lighter vein, to warrant positive assertions on such a point. It was an age of innovation, often of conscious innovation. Any expression which appears in the Anthology, or even in Nonnus, may well have found its origin in Theocritus. The word σείο, of course, belongs to the Homeric language, and hence to the vocabulary of any Greek poet. ναὶ μάν occurs in Aratus (450), and in Nicander, ἴδε πῶς is a perfectly natural development from the ordinary use of these words. δίδου ὄφρα, if properly understood, i.e. δίδου πάλιν χεῖλεα σείο, ὄφρα φιλάσω, is good Greek of any age or style. English scholars are somewhat prone to condemn an expression which offends their nice feeling for good usage, without careful investigation of the question whether it is justified by occurrence elsewhere.

It appears, then, that the arguments against the authenticity of the 'Οαριστύς are not altogether convincing in character. There remains, however, one more assertion of some general interest, as involving a principle which is of importance for the criticism of ancient literature, and may not be without its application to modern literature as well. Cholmeley says "poem 27

is condemned by the coarseness of its tone." Against this and similar judgments, it is time that someone should raise a vigorous protest.

The *'Οαριστός*, as its name indicates, is a dialogue, narrating, in speeches of a single verse each, the ardent courtship of a young neatherd addressing a rustic maiden who is a herder of goats, the coy and sensible replies of the girl, and her final yielding to his suit, with a brief epilogue,—the whole comprising but 70 verses. The dialogue is swift, sparkling and witty, the language is fitting and graceful, and the poem is in every way worthy of Theocritus at his best. Two verses, indeed, one might hesitate to read aloud, in English, in a modern drawing-room (48 and 58), and it is on these alone that Cholmeley's charge of "coarseness" must depend for support. It may, indeed, offend our sense of decorum, that wooing, consent and fruition are all included in the compass of one short interview. But we must not forget that the actors in this little drama are children of the soil, and born under the glowing sun of Sicily. Their mode of conducting courtship and marriage may indeed impress us as summary, but it need not, on that account, be judged any the less pure and dignified. That the object of the swain is honorable marriage, is apparent in almost every line. He introduces himself with mention of his father's and his mother's name (41), and tells the maiden that he has come as one of her many suitors (23). Her father will surely give his consent to her marriage, when he learns who the prospective son-in-law is (39); he promises that he will never leave her (35), that he will endow her with all his groves and pastures (33), and will build for her a suitable home and court (36f). He wishes that he could put even his very life into the scale (61), and when she dreads the cares of marriage, and the possible loss of her beauty, he reminds her that the children who are to come will prove to be a joy and blessing to their house (31). In short, every word of the charming dialogue speaks as strongly of honor and constancy as it does of ardent passion. And at last the maiden yields—who can blame her? And yet the same Theocritus, for whom this exquisite idyl is too 'coarse.'

forsooth, has elsewhere (Idyl 5) touched upon the most odious vices of Greek life, with a truly cynical frankness; and that, too, in a poem whose authorship is unquestioned. Such is literary criticism, when unassisted by a little imagination. The *'Οαριστός* is not coarse, any more than Homer is coarse, or Plato is coarse. Theocritus can be coarse, when he wishes, as Mr. Cholmeley must be aware. But the English school boy may possibly be trusted to overlook the really objectionable lines in Idyl 5. And in England the needs of the schoolboy seem, perhaps happily, to be still supreme.

July 22, 1911.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF THE
CORPUS TIBULLIANUM

BY

MONROE E. DEUTSCH

PREFACE

The following paper was submitted to the faculty of the University of California in August, 1910, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Since that time it has been revised somewhat, but it is essentially unchanged from its original form.

I desire to acknowledge here my great indebtedness to Professor William A. Merrill, to whom I owe my instruction in the field of textual criticism.

MONROE E. DEUTSCH.

BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA, December, 1911.

PASSAGES DISCUSSED

- I, 2, 88.
- I, 5, 76.
- I, 6, 7.
- I, 9, 25.
- I, 10, 37.
- II, 2, 17-22.
- II, 3, 61.
- II, 4, 43.
- II, 5, 47.
- III, 6, 3.
- III, 12 (IV, 6), 19-20.
- III, 14 (IV, 8), 5-6

I, 2, 88

Proposed reading:

at tu, qui laetus rides mala nostra, caveto
 mox tibi: non *mi uni* saeviet usque deus.

Here AV and G unite in reading *non unus*; P, *et iratus*; and ζ, *non vanus*. None of these seems possible here; so the majority of the editors follow the early Italian scholars in reading *non uni*.¹ The change from *uni* to *unus* is thus explained by Belling, *Prolegomena*, p. 39, note: "Der libr. arch. schrieb *unus*, da in seiner Vorlage t das *i* dem Abkürzungszeichen für *us* ähnlich sah." Heyne easily accounts for it thus: "Scilicet primum *s* adhaeserat ex sequenti voce: tum *unis* mutatum fuisset in *unus*."

As to the interpretation of *uni*, Golbéry declares: "Sensus est: Amor non uni mihi, sed et tibi saeviet, quamvis me nunc laetus irrideas." The sense is perfectly good, but does Tibullus ever use *unus* in this way? The following are the instances of the word in the Corpus Tibullianum:

I, 6, 23 <i>illam sequar unus</i> ad aras.	III, 6, 32 <i>una serena dies.</i>
I, 2, 9 <i>uni mihi.</i>	III, 19 (IV, 13), 5 <i>uni mihi.</i>
I, 2, 58 <i>de me uno.</i>	III, 10 (IV, 4), 19 <i>in uno</i> corpore.
	III, 7 (IV, 1), 142 <i>una per</i> ostia (Heinsius).

In other words, *unus* is never used substantively in the Corpus Tibullianum, and of the six well-authenticated instances of the word, four show it modifying some form of *ego*. Moreover, in the elegies of Tibullus himself (if we assume III, 19 to be by Tibullus), four of these six uses of *unus* occur, in all of which *unus* modifies some form of *ego*. This makes the substantive use appear improbable here.

Moreover, the substantive use of adjectives in the dative

¹ However, among the other suggestions are: *uni is*—Goerenz; *unis*—F. W. Richter (in vers. German. 1831); *vacuus*—Huschke; *in me*—Hiller (but Hiller reads *non unus* in *Corpus poetarum Latinorum*, 1893); *ullus*—Rabus (*Observationes in Tibulli carmina*, p. 6. Aug. Vind. 1837); *in nos*—Leo (*Philol. Unters.* 2[1881], p. 39); "caveto: mox tibi *nam durus* saeviet usque deus"—Fr. A. Rigler; "caveto: mox tibi *iam lusus* saeviet usque deus"—Kemper (*Quaest. Tibull.*, Monasterii, 1857, p. 46); *mitis*—Baehrens.

singular is rare in the *Corpus Tibullianum*. The following list includes all instances wherein an adjective in the dative singular stands alone, whether it is used substantively or the noun which it modifies is to be supplied from the preceding clause:²

absenti	I, 8, 53.
amanti	I, 3, 65; I, 5, 57; II, 4, 15.
anhelanti	I, 8, 37.
avarae	II, 4, 35.
fatenti	I, 6, 29.
fesso	I, 10, 42.
formosae	III, 10 (IV, 4), 4.
misero	I, 6, 2; I, 8, 23; II, 4, 4; III, 19 (IV, 13), 20.
nulli	I, 6, 77; III, 5, 7.
roganti	I, 4, 55.
securae	II, 4, 50 (dative or genitive).
sopitae	II, 6, 38.
suae	I, 4, 75; II, 5, 103.
tardo	III, 7 (IV, 1), 92.
tenero	I, 8, 51.

Of these twenty-two instances, but nineteen are in Tibullus' own elegies (even if one assumes III, 19 to be his). It will be further noted that of these nineteen, eight are participles; among the remaining eleven, comprising as they do all instances wherein the adjective in this form stands alone, we find *misero* used four times, and *suae* twice. If these were set aside from the list, but five isolated examples would remain in the elegies of Tibullus. But even if we take the whole list, exclusive of participles, the number is exceedingly small, too small to justify the introduction of the substantive use of an adjective which is never used substantively in the whole *Corpus Tibullianum*.

Aside from this objection to the use of *uni* alone, the usual reading would demand for *uni* the meaning of "one and the same man," a meaning not found in Tibullus.

On the other hand, as the instances of Tibullus' use of *unus* show, we should expect it to modify some form of *ego*. Moreover, the meaning of the passage demands something that is equivalent to "uni mihi" (quoting from Golbéry's note), which

² Based upon the *Index Verborum* in Hiller's edition.

very group of words is found twice in Tibullus. With this thought I have suggested the insertion of *mi* before *uni*; we have then exactly the phrasing that fits the sense of the passage.

It is true that the form *mi* is not found in the Corpus Tibullianum. In Propertius,³ however, the shorter form is found in I, 12, 19; II, 18, 30; II, 22, 1; II, 22, 18; II, 30, 25; IV, 1, 62; IV, 8, 53; IV, 11, 47. In Catullus⁴ the use is exceedingly frequent. Lucretius employs *mi* in I, 924 and III, 105; it appears in the *Aeneid* VI, 104 and 123. That the form never appears in the Corpus Tibullianum as we now find it, is after all not strange, when one notes these figures:

	Propertius. ³	Corpus Tibullianum. ⁵
<i>me</i> (ablative)	41	11

That is, the ratio of the uses of *me* (ablative) in the Corpus Tibullianum to the uses in Propertius is 11:41. Propertius using *mi* but eight times, at this same ratio the Corpus Tibullianum would contain *mi* only twice and a fraction. In other words, *mi* should by no means be expected frequently in the Corpus.

The elision of the monosyllable which the proposed reading would introduce, has the following parallels in our text:

I, 2, 56 <i>si in.</i>	III, 6, 25, <i>qua est.</i>
I, 2, 58 <i>me uno.</i>	III, 7 (IV, 1), 75 <i>si inter-</i> <i>rupto.</i>
I, 4, 56 <i>se implicuisse.</i>	III, 7 (IV, 1), 179 <i>se accin-</i> <i>gere.</i>
I, 6, 59 <i>te adducit.</i>	III, 7 (IV, 1), 182 <i>me ad-</i> <i>versa.</i>
I, 6, 61 <i>me adfixa.</i>	III, 19 (IV, 13), 19 <i>me au-</i> <i>daciis.</i>
I, 7, 9 <i>me est (sine marte</i> <i>ibi—Baehrens).</i>	
II, 1, 69 <i>se exercuit.</i>	
II, 3, 5 <i>cum aspicerem (dum</i> <i>—Heyne).</i>	
II, 3, 61 <i>qui abducis (text</i> <i>uncertain).</i>	

Of these fourteen instances ten are in Tibullus,⁶ one in Lygdamus, and three in the *Panegyric*; it will be further noted that, of the ten in Tibullus, seven involve personal or reflexive pronouns.

³ J. S. Phillimore, *Index Verborum Propertianus*.

⁴ Neue-Wagener, *Formenlehre*, II, 349 foll.

⁵ Index Verborum in Hiller, *Albii Tibulli Elegiae*.

⁶ If we assume III, 19 to be by Tibullus.

The elision of the monosyllable has therefore sufficient warrant in the usage of Tibullus. It will be noted that the proposed reading, as to elision and word-order, exactly parallels *me uno*, Tib. I, 2, 58.

As *mi* is not found in the Corpus Tibullianum, for examples of elided *mi* we shall have to look elsewhere. They are frequent enough, e.g. Lucr. I, 924; Hor. *Serm.* I, 1, 101; I, 2, 57; I, 3, 23; I, 4, 108; I, 9, 50; II, 6, 27; Hor. *Epist.* I, 18, 112.

That *mi* could be readily omitted in MSS (1) because elided and (2) because written in compendium, is readily apparent. For example, on Horace *Serm.* I, 9, 50 (*nil mi officit, inquam*) Orelli's apparatus criticus contains the statement:

mi αγRσ

mihi F

omisit g(Codex Gothanus, B 61).

Again, Ennius in Cic. *de Oratore* III, 58, 218 reads:⁷ *Tum pavor sapientiam omnem mi exanimato expectorat.* The MSS read thus: "*mihi* L, *mi* l², om. M." It is of interest that in both of these instances *mi* suffers elision.

If it be further objected that we should then have but a solitary instance of *mi* in the whole Corpus Tibullianum, it might be noted that there is but one instance in Persius, I, 2.⁸

The use of the dative case (*uni* or *mi uni*) with *saevire* has always been defended by Ov. *Her.* IV, 148 *qui mihi nunc saevit, sic tibi parcat Amor.* But Leo⁹ objects to its use, brushing aside this instance by declaring that *mihi saevit* is influenced by *tibi parcat.* In reply it might be noted that *mihi saevit* precedes *tibi parcat*, and hence would not be so likely to be influenced by the construction with *parcere* as if the reverse order were found; moreover, in the text before us we have *caveto tibi*, a use of the dative which is not uncommon; according to Leo's reasoning, then, it would not be surprising if this use of the dative influenced the other construction so as to read *mi uni saeviet.*

⁷ Mueller-Friedrich.

⁸ "Vocabula Satirarum Persii" in *Auli Persii Flacci Satirarum Liber*, edidit Otto Iahn.

⁹ F. Leo, *Phil. Unters.*, II, 34-9.

For in this passage the dative with *cavere* precedes and would therefore far more easily influence the construction with *saevire*.

Leo's second objection to the usual reading is that, even if the dative were used, he would expect *nobis*. This expectation is due, I presume, to *mala nostra* of the preceding verse. Compare however the following passages:

- I, 2, 11-12 Et mala si qua tibi dixit dementia nostra,
ignoscas: capiti sint precor illa meo.
I, 4, 77-8 *me*, qui spernentur, amantes
consultent: cunctis ianua nostra patet.

So also I, 5 41 *me* and I, 5, 44 *nostra puella*; and I, 9, 42-3 *ipse tuli!* and *munere nostro*. These are but instances, selected at random, of what is common in Tibullus.

Finally, we should quite expect *mi* set off against *tibi*, for this is not uncommon in Tibullus:¹⁰

- I, 2, 97 At *mihi* parce, Venus: semper *tibi* dedita, etc.
I, 1, 59 *te* spectem, suprema *mihi* cum venerit hora.
I, 6, 3 quid *tibi* saevitiae *mecum* est?

Cf. also Hor. *Serm.* I, 4, 116 *causas reddet tibi*; *mi satis est*, etc.

I should accordingly read *uni* with the editors, but insert *mi* before it.

I, 5, 76

Proposed reading:

utere quaeso,
dum licet: in liquida *nam* tibi linter aqua est.

AV read as above, though without *est*; G also omits *est*, and substitutes for *nam* the verb *nat*, which is likewise the reading of Vm2 in the margin. This last reading is accepted by practically all editors of Tibullus. Guyet proposed *stat tibi*, which was suggested by Prop. II, 9, 30 *aut mea si staret navis in Oceano*. Rossberg¹¹ would read *nunc* for *nam*.¹² *Nam* is approved by Maurenbrecher,¹³ who quotes the readings of the MSS thus:

¹⁰ So too in this distich *tu* and *rides* are set off against *mala nostra*.

¹¹ *Jahrb. f. Philol.*, 119 (1879), p. 77.

¹² Cf. the variant readings in II, 4, 12: *nunc* P, *nam* A, *iam* ζ.

¹³ *Philologus*, 55 (1896), 439.

“*nat* G, *nam* AV, was ohne Anstoss ist.” Belling¹⁴ in his text reads *nam*, without adding *est*, however, which seems to me essential to the verse. Cartault¹⁵ reads *non*, and Heyne suggested that if *nam* be retained, we should read “*it liquida nam tibi linter aqua.*”

The change from *nam* to *nat* is easily understood. The position of *nam* as the third word in its clause would seem impossible; the *t* beginning *tibi* would influence the change of *nam* to *nat*, especially since this verb would appear fitting with *linter*. The clause being thus supplied with a verb, *est* would naturally be dropped. This loss would be made easier by the fact that the verse is a rather long one for a pentameter.¹⁶

It is true that *nam* stands first in its clause in practically every instance of its use in the Corpus Tibullianum. But we read as follows in III, 4, 43-4:

salve, cura deum: casto nam rite poetae
Phoebusque et Bacchus Pieridesque favent.

And in II, 4, 12 the reading of A is perfectly acceptable:

omnia nam tristi tempora felle madent.

Some editors, however, read *nunc*¹⁷ and others *iam*.¹⁸ In other words, in three separate passages in the Corpus Tibullianum, A reads *nam* in a position subsequent to the first in its clause; of these one is accepted by the editors, a second by a number, and a third rejected by practically all. If we can accept the authority of A in III, 4, 43 for a deferred *nam*, the postponement of *nam* should not in itself be an argument for the change here, when resting on the same MS authority.

Moreover, deferred *nam* is sufficiently common in the other poets of the period. We find the following instances:¹⁹

¹⁴ H. Belling, *Albius Tibullus, Untersuchung und Text*, Berlin, 1897. Cf. his argument for *nam* in his *Prolegomena*, p. 63.

¹⁵ *Tibulle et les auteurs du corpus Tibullianum*. Paris, 1909.

¹⁶ For those MSS (AV) that read *nam* we should only have to explain the loss of *est*. The length of the verse has already been mentioned, and the ease with which *est* is dropped may be seen by noting the instances of such loss mentioned on page 183.

¹⁷ e.g. Baehrens, Haupt-Vahlen, Hiller.

¹⁸ e.g. Broukhusius, Heyne, Voss, L. Mueller.

¹⁹ Emilius Schuenke, *De traiectione coniunctionum et pronominis relativi apud poetas Latinos*, Kiliae, 1906.

- Catullus XXIII, 7 nec mirum: bene *nam* valetis omnes
 XXXVII, 11 puella *nam* mi, quae meo sinu fugit
 LXIV, 301 Pelea *nam* tecum pariter soror aspernata est
 Virgil: *Georgics* IV, 16 omnia *nam* late vastant ipsasque volantis
Aeneid I, 444 sic *nam*²⁰ fore bello egregiam et facilem victu
 518 quid veniant: eunetis *nam* lecti navibus ibant
 731 Iuppiter, hospitibus *nam* te dare iura loquuntur
 III, 379 prohibent *nam* cetera Parcae scire Helenum.
 IV, 421 solam *nam* perfidus ille te colere, arcanos etiam
 tibi credere sensus
 VI, 667 medium *nam* plurima turba hunc habet
 IX, 803, aëriam caelo *nam* Iuppiter Irim demisit
 X, 585 dicta parat contra, iaculum *nam* torquet in hostis.
 XII, 206 dextra sceptrum *nam* forte gerebat
 Cir. 221 sonitum *nam* fecerat illi
 458 omnia *nam* potius quam te fecisse putabo.
 Cat. (*Priapea*) 3, 5 huius *nam* domini colunt me
 Cat. 4, 10 Clio *nam*²¹ certe candida non loquitur.
 Ov. *Her.* XI, 61 fratris *nam*²² nupta futura es
 Hor. *Epod.* 14, 6 deus, deus *nam* me vetat
 17, 45 et tu, potes *nam*, solve me dementia
Serm. II, 3, 20 olim *nam* quaerere amabam
 41 primum *nam* inquiram quid sit furere
 302 insanire putas? Ego *nam* videor mihi sanus.
 II, 6, 78 si quis *nam* laudat Arelli sollicitas ignarus opes
Epist. II, 1, 186 aut ursum aut pugilis; his *nam* plebecula gaudet.
Carm. I, 18, 3 siccis omnia *nam* dura deus proposuit
 IV, 14, 9 milite *nam* tuo
 Drusus Genaunos, implacidum genus
 Propert. IV, 8, 23 Serica *nam*²³ taceo vulsi carpenta nepotis

In this list it will be noted that *nam* is found in the third place in its clause in Virgil *Aen.* IX, 803 and XII, 206, and in Horace *Carm.* I, 18, 3. This position of *nam* is therefore by no means an impossible one.

If we restore *nam* then, the clause stands without a verb. Would an ellipsis of *est* here be in accordance with the style of Tibullus? The following list²⁴ contains passages wherein there is an ellipsis of *esse*, noted in the Corpus Tibullianum:

- I, 1, 75 hic ego dux milesque bonus.
 I, 3, 5 non hic mihi mater.

²⁰ sic *nam* F M² R a² b²: *signam* M² P² γ¹: *signum* γ² deteriores pauci.

²¹ *Elionam* M: *Clio tam* Casaubonus.

²² Text doubtful; above reading, Palmer's.

²³ *Serica nam taceo*—Beroaldus ex emend.; *serica nam tacto*—V; *si riga-nam tacto ceteri*.

²⁴ Based on the text of Hiller (1885).

- I, 3, 7 non soror.
 I, 3, 9 Delia non usquam.
 I, 3, 43 non fixus in agris . . . lapis.
 I, 4, 23 gratia magna Iovi.
 I, 6, 33 quid tenera tibi coniuge opus?
 I, 7, 9 foll. Tarbella Pyrene
 testis et Oceani litora Santonici,
 testis Arar Rhodanusque celer magnusque Garunna,
 Carnutis et flavi caerulea lympha Liger.
 I, 7, 44 sed chorus et cantus et levis aptus amor,
 sed varii flores et frons redimita corymbis,
 fusa sed ad teneros lutea palla pedes
 et Tyriae vestes et dulcis tibia cantu
 et levis occultis conscia cista sacris.
 I, 10, 3 tum caedes hominum generi, tum proelia nata.
 I, 10, 9 non arces, non vallus erat.
 I, 10, 26²⁵ hostiaque e plena rustica porcus hara.
 I, 10, 63 quater ille beatus
 quo tenera irato flere puella potest.
 II, 1, 63 hinc et femineus labor est, hinc pensa colusque.
 II, 1, 67-8 ipse interque greges interque armenta Cupido
 natus et indomitas dicitur inter equas.
 II, 1, 79 a miseri, quos hic graviter deus urget!
 II, 1, 79-80 at ille
 felix, cui placidus leniter adflat Amor.
 II, 3, 19 o quotiens ausae, caneret dum valle sub alta,
 rumpere mugitu carmina docta boves!
 II, 3, 27 Delos ubi nunc, Phoebe, tua est, ubi Delphica Pytho?
 II, 3, 32 fabula sit mavult quam sine amore deus.
 II, 4, 11 nunc et amara dies et noctis amarior umbra est.
 II, 4, 45 At bona quae nec avara fuit.
 II, 5, 15 te duce Romanos numquam frustrata Sibylla.
 II, 5, 107 ars bona!
 II, 6, 13 irravi quotiens rediturum ad limina numquam!
 III, 19 (IV, 13), 11²⁶ tu mihi curarum requies, tu nocte vel atra
 lumen, et in solis tu mihi turba locis.

Aside from the above in the elegies of Tibullus, the following were found in the Corpus: III, 1, 20; III, 1, 26; III, 1, 27; III, 2, 5; III, 2, 5-6; III, 4, 30; III, 4, 51-2; III, 4, 83; III, 4, 94; III, 6, 19; III, 6, 43; III, 7 (IV, 1), 9-10; III, 7 (IV, 1), 25; III, 7 (IV, 1), 25-6; III, 7 (IV, 1), 32; III, 7 (IV, 1), 37; III, 7 (IV, 1), 40; III, 7 (IV, 1), 81; III, 7 (IV, 1), 87; III, 7 (IV, 1), 107 foll.; III, 7 (IV, 1) 180; III, 7 (IV, 1), 198-9; III, 9 (IV, 3), 7; III, 10 (IV, 4), 23; III, 15 (IV, 9), 1; III, 16 (IV, 10), 3-4.

²⁵ Text uncertain.

²⁶ Assuming that it may be by Tibullus.

In the list of ellipses in Tibullus, a large number occur where a form of *esse* either immediately precedes or follows, e.g. I, 7, 44; I, 10, 9; II, 1, 63; II, 3, 27; II, 3, 32; II, 4, 11; II, 4, 45, and here may be classed (as following I, 3, 5) I, 3, 7 and I, 3, 9. A second group comprises instances of the omission of *esse* in compound verb-forms, e.g., I, 10, 3; II, 1, 67-8; II, 3, 19; II, 5, 15; and II, 6, 13. A third group comprises those cases wherein a predicate noun or adjective occurs, e.g. I, 1, 75; I, 3, 43; I, 7, 9 (bis); I, 10, 26; I, 10, 63; II, 1, 79; II, 1, 80; II, 5, 107; and III, 19 (IV, 13), 11. A fourth group comprises those instances where the construction demands a form of the verb *esse* (e.g. dative of the possessor); such we find in I, 3, 5; I, 4, 23; and I, 6, 33. These four groups comprise all instances of the ellipsis of *esse* in Tibullus. Restated they are:

1. When *esse* immediately precedes or follows.
2. Compound verb-forms.
3. When a predicate adjective or noun occurs.
4. Where the construction demands a form of *esse*.

As none of these conditions holds true in the verse under consideration, it seems to be impossible to admit of an ellipsis of *esse* here.

The following table²⁷ shows the position of *est* in the pentameter in the elegies of Tibullus:

	<i>Elision</i>	<i>No elision</i>
Before diaeresis	9 ²⁸	1 ³²
Begins second foot	4 ²⁹	2 ³³
After diaeresis	0	6 ³⁴
Ends verse	4 ³⁰	0
Ends first foot	1 ³¹	0
Begins verse	0	4 ³⁵
	—	—
	18	13

²⁷ Based on Hiller's text.

²⁸ I, 1, 22; I, 1, 34; I, 4, 32; I, 5, 68; I, 8, 76; II, 1, 46; II, 3, 24; II, 5, 36; III 19 (IV, 13), 2.

²⁹ I, 2, 16; I, 2, 42; I, 9, 20; III, 19 (IV, 13), 4.

³⁰ I, 4, 4; I, 10, 4; II, 6, 10; II, 6 44.

³¹ I, 5, 46.

³² II, 3, 74.

³³ II, 3, 2; II, 4, 52.

³⁴ I, 3, 36; I, 6, 66; II, 3, 16; II, 3, 36; II, 4, 24; III, 19 (IV, 13), 16.

³⁵ I, 6, 44; I, 8, 64; I, 9, 24; II, 1, 30.

The most common position of *est* in the pentameter of Tibullus where it causes elision, is just before the diaeresis; this, however, would put *nam* in the fourth place in its clause, a position in which it is apparently not found in classical Latin. Next in frequency are the position at the end of the verse, and that at the beginning of the second foot. The latter being impossible, if we retain the MS reading, I have accordingly placed *est* at the end of the verse. This position moreover furnishes an easy explanation of its loss.

Omissions of *est* are not unparalleled in the MSS of the Corpus Tibullianum:

- I, 1, 34, *magno* Fr. Par. 1.
magno est A Par. 2.
 III, 2, 7 *pudor est* G.
est om. A.
 III, 3, 20 *invidia est* Par.
invida quae A.

Moreover the ease with which it may be omitted at the end of the verse is shown in Propertius II, 14, 1; II, 18, 25; and II, 34, 55.

The verse with this wording suggests, even more than in its usual form, Horace *Epist.* I, 18, 87 *dum tua navis in alto est*, frequently cited as parallel. Moreover in Terence *Hauton Timorumenos* 343-7 we find a resemblance in language: *quod boni . . . datur, fruire dum licet: nam nescias . . . eius sit potestas posthac an numquam tibi.*

I, 6, 7

Proposed reading:

illa quidem per multa negat, sed credere durum est.

This reading is that of all the MSS save that they unite in reading *tam* for *per*. All the early editors followed the MS reading, but we see signs of dissatisfaction with it in Scaliger's suggestion of *iam multa*, Burmann's *insimulata*, and Santen's *delicta*. Heyne, however, was the first to object seriously to the reading, and he hazarded both *sua furia* and *iurata*. The former reading need not detain us, but the latter is decidedly worthy of consideration. It was suggested to Heyne by a careful read-

ing of Ovid's *Tristia* II, 447 foll., which verses repeat a considerable portion of this elegy in words which are very like those of Tibullus. The first two verses of Ovid's paraphrase run:

credere iuranti durum putat esse Tibullus,
sic etiam de se quod neget illa viro.

Heyne saw that no word corresponding to Ovid's *iuranti* appeared in this verse in Tibullus, and inserted the only form possible from the standpoint of sense and meter *iurata*, a form which is found, for example, in Propertius I, 8, 27. The word has met with the approval of L. Mueller, Baehrens, H. Bubendey, Belling, H. Magnus,³⁶ B. Maurenbrecher³⁷ and Postgate.³⁸ Hiller proposed and read *mihī cuncta*,³⁹ comparing III, 7 (IV, 1), 129, but cf. Belling, *Prolegomena zu Tibull*, p. 75. Cartault (1909) reads *quam multa*, though earlier⁴⁰ he favored *iurata*.

The only reading⁴¹ thus far proposed that is worth consideration is Heyne's *iurata*, but to it I have two objections. 1. Palaeographical. How can the change of *iurata* to *tam multa* be explained? They have only their last two letters in common. We must note, moreover, that all the MSS unite in the reading *tam multa*. 2. The view that some word corresponding exactly to *iuranti* must appear in Tibullus is not sound, for Ovid handles this passage in the main quite freely. To be sure, some verses are strikingly alike; compare e.g. verses 25-26 of this elegy of Tibullus:

saepe, velut gemmas eius signumque probarem,
per causam memini me tetigisse manum.

with Ovid's version of the same (451-2):

saepe, velut gemmam dominae signumve probaret,
per causam meminit se tetigisse manum.

But even here, where the resemblance is so great, there are variations that cannot be explained as due to a change of person

³⁶ *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 5 (1885), 589.

³⁷ *Philol.*, 55 (1896), 450.

³⁸ Cf. *Classical Review*, 9 (1895), 77.

³⁹ But *tam multa* in the *Corpus poetarum Latinorum* (1893).

⁴⁰ *À propos du corpus Tibullianum*.

⁴¹ F. Wilhelm (*J. P. P.*, 151 [1895], 114) and G. Friedrich (*Wissenschaftliche Beilage zum Jahresbericht des evang. Gymnasiums in Schweidnitz, Ostern, 1898*) defend *tam multa*.

or the exigencies of meter. Why, for example, did Ovid write *-ve* instead of *-que*? Why did he not retain the plural *gemmas*? And if we pass from this to the passages where the correspondence is not so great, we can easily see the freedom with which Ovid has handled his original. Thus Tibullus reads in verses 19–20:

neu te decipiat nutu, digitoque liquorem
ne trahat et mensae ducat in orbe notas.

but Ovid (in 453–4) as follows:

utque refert, digitis saepe est nutuque locutus,
et tacitam mensae duxit in orbe notam.

It should be noted that *neu te decipiat* has no expression corresponding to it in Ovid's lines, that *nutu* is joined with the following clause, and that *digito . . . liquorem . . . trahat* appears as *digitis . . . est . . . locutus*; moreover words are added, some to be sure to keep the original speaker in mind, as *utque refert*, but others with no such purpose, as *saepe* and *tacitam*.

The freedom of Ovid's treatment being thus apparent, we have no right to demand that some form of *iurare* appear in Tibullus; if we had, should we not similarly try to insert *negat*, or some form thereof, in the corresponding verse of Ovid? All we can say is that the one word, *iuranti*, in Ovid corresponds roughly to the clause *illa quidem . . . multa negat* in Tibullus; in other words, though *iurare* itself may not appear in Tibullus, the idea of an oath should naturally suggest itself.

The reading *per multa*, which is now proposed, was suggested by Tibullus I, 2, 38:

perque deos omnes se meminisse neget.

In other words, Tibullus uses the expression *per aliquem negare*, from which of course it is but a step to *per aliquid negare*. In his comment on the above verse of Tibullus, Heyne says: "h. l. iuret per deos omnes se non meminisse," that is to say, *negare per* is a synonym of *iurare per . . . non*.⁴²

The Corpus Tibullianum is exceedingly fond of the use of *per* in asseverations:

⁴² Cf. Martial XI, 94, 7: "Ecce negas iurasque mihi per templa Tonantis."

I, 5, 7-8 *parce tamen, per te furtivi foedera lecti,
per Venerem quaeso compositumque caput.*

I, 4, 25-6 *perque suas impune sinit Dietyrna sagittas
adfirmes, crines perque Minerva suos.*

II, 6, 29 *parce, per immatura tuae precor ossa sororis.*

So also III, 1, 15-16, III, 6, 47-8, and III, 11 (IV, 5), 7-8. The use therefore of *per* in asseverations in general and with *negare* in particular is paralleled in Tibullus.

What then would *per multa negare* mean? Consider such a plea as that in Virgil *Aen.* IV, 314-8:

*per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te
(quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui),
per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,
si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam
dulce meum, miserere domus labentis.*

Or turn to that in Silius Italicus V, 82 foll.:

*Iliacas per te flammas Tarpeiaque saxa,
per patrios, consul, muros, suspensaue nostrae
eventu pugnae natorum pignora, cedas
oramus superis.*

If we desired to describe these appeals briefly, should we not say that in each case the speaker "*per multa oravit*"? We have moreover the oath in the *Aeneid* XII, 197 foll.:

*haec eadem, Aenea, terram, mare, sidera, iuro
Latoniaeque genus duplex Ianumque bifrontem,
vimque deum infernam et duri sacraria Ditis.*

There is also that in Juvenal XIII, 78 foll.:

*per Solis radios Tarpeiaque fulmina iurat
et Martis frameam et Cirrhaei spicula vatis,
per calamos venatricis pharetramque puellae
perque tuum, pater Aegaei Neptune, tridentem;
addit et Herculeos arcus hastamque Minervae
quidquid habent telorum armamentaria caeli.*

These oaths could readily be summarized by saying "*per multa iuravit.*"

It can hardly be objected that there are absolutely no examples in Latin of asseverations where *per* is followed by the neuter of an adjective or pronoun used substantively, for we find in Servius on *Aen.* X, 45: "*Sallustius in primo postremo ipsos colonos per miserias et incerta humani generis orare.*" *Per incerta* is parallel to *per multa*. Somewhat analagous are also

Stat. *Theb.* XI, 368–9 *per si quid in illa dulce domo* and Quint. *Declam.* IV, 22 *per ego, si fas est, quicquid feci, . . .* We find also in Auct. ad Herennium IV, 52:

‘parce,’ inquit, ‘et per quae tibi dulcissima sunt in vita, miserere nostri.’⁴³

The change palaeographically is not a great one. *Multa* is retained; *per*, through the influence of the following word, might readily have converted *r* into *m*. Both words are of exactly the same length; and the interchange of *p* and *t* appears also e.g. in Tibullus I, 10, 36 where for *puppis* A (*pupis* and *pauppis*, Par.) *turpis*, the reading of ζ, is accepted by scholars.

I, 9, 25

Proposed reading:

ipse deus tacito permisit *vina* ministro,
ederet ut multo libera verba mero.

MSS *leve* AV (*lene* Vm2), *lene* G.

lena, *laeva*, *leva*, *seva*, *saeva* ζ.

Readings:

lingua—Rigler, followed by L. Mueller,⁴⁴ Haupt-Vahlen, Belling (Tibullus), and F. Wilhelm.⁴⁵

verba—and in verse 26 *lingua* for *verba*—Francken.⁴⁶

nonne—suggested by Lachmann.

saepe—proposed by Muretus: followed by Hiller.⁴⁷

lene—Aldus, Sessa, Muretus, Grasser, Maittaire, Lachmann, Gruppe, Baehrens.

vela—Scaliger, followed by Broukhusius and Volpi.

vela magister—Guyet.

laeva—Voss.

frena—Burmman II and Huschke.

lora—Santen.

lena—Stadius, Passerat, Heyne, Huschke, Golbéry, Dissen, and Kemper.

laeve—Némethy.

*tormentum admovit lene ministro*⁴⁸—Cartault (1909).

⁴³ So Baiter and Kayser: Orelli reads “per ea quae, etc.”

⁴⁴ L. Mueller ascribes this reading to exc. Par.

⁴⁵ *N. Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.*, 151 (1895), 769.

⁴⁶ *Mnemos.* n.s., 6 (1878), 187.

⁴⁷ But in the *Corpus poetarum Latinorum* (1893), *leve*.

⁴⁸ F. Jacoby, *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 29 (1909), 1467, calls it “die plumpe Herübernahme aus Horat. c. III, 21, 13.”

Postgate impales *lene* as corrupt, suggesting that *lenae* was perhaps written as an explanation of *ministro*; but he proposes as a possible reading *vina*. Prior to seeing Postgate's note, this reading had appeared to me the correct one, and the fact that it has suggested itself to so eminent a scholar has of course intensified my belief in the soundness of *vina*.⁴⁹

If we assume that *lene*, whether as adjective or adverb, is impossible here, we have in *vina* a word that fits the thought admirably. The distich translated would read: "The god himself granted wine to the silent servant, to cause him to utter free-spoken words through the influence of abundant liquor." The expression *ipse deus . . . permisit vina* is paralleled by Ov. *Fast.* I, 403 *vina dabat Liber*.

That both *vinum* and *merum* are found in the same distich is not in any wise abnormal in Tibullus:

I, 2, 1 Adde *merum vinoque* novos compesce dolores.
I, 5, 37-8 saepe ego temptavi curas depellere *vino*:
at dolor in lacrimas verterat omne *merum*.

So also Prop. II, 33, 31-32:

tuque, o Eurytion, *vino*, centaure, peristi,
nec non Ismario tu, Polypheme, *mero*.

Both of the other instances of *permittere* in the Corpus Tibullianum⁵⁰ show the verb with an object, though of course the expressions are not parallel. While there are no instances in Tibullus of *permittere* with an object and also a clause of purpose, yet he shows several instances of *dare* with both:

I, 8, 29-30 det munera canus amator,
ut foveat molli frigida membra sinu.
I, 6, 13 tunc sucos herbasque dedi, quis livor abiret.

For a concrete noun as object of *permittere*, may be compared Lucan VII, 123-4:

Sic fatur et arma
permittit populis.

Palaeographically the change is not difficult, even if we feel by no means certain of Postgate's theory that *lenae* was a gloss on *ministro*. *Vina* and *leve* (reading of AV) are words of exactly

⁴⁹ For Postgate's discussion, see *Classical Review*, 19 (1905), 213-4, and 23, 186-7.

⁵⁰ III, 7 (IV, 1), 92, and III, 16 (IV, 10), 1-2.

the same length. Confusion of initial *l* and *v* is also found in the MSS of Lucr. III, 95 (*locatum*—Marullus; *vocatum*—OQ) and Lucr. V, 12 (*locavit*—L; *vocavit*—OQ). For the ease with which *e* and *i* are interchanged, compare :

- I, 2, 65 *posset*—G; *possit*—A.
 I, 2, 79 *magni*—A; *magnae*—others.
 I, 4, 9 *fuge te*—others; *fugite*—Fr.
 I, 4, 40 *vincit*—ξ; *vincet*—AVG.

The *v* and *n* are easily interchanged; note the various MS readings of this very word, as well as I, 8, 2 *lenia* V, *levia* A, and I, 8, 57 *lenis* G, *levis* A. The final *a* for *e* is found in the reading of several of the inferior MSS. In I, 1, 5 the same error is found, *vita*, P. Fr., appearing as *vite* in A.

Moreover the other readings proposed are not satisfactory. *Lena* and *lingua* introduce a very peculiar word-order: we should then have the subject of the subordinate clause inserted in the main clause. There are, it is true, examples throughout the Corpus Tibullianum of the deferring of the conjunction⁵¹ of the subordinate clause.⁵² But the only instances I have noted wherein one or more words belonging to the subordinate clause are placed before a word belonging to the main clause, are the following:⁵³

(1) Where the main clause consists of but one word (a verb) and no conjunction⁵⁴ is employed :

- I, 2, 12 *capiti sint precor illa meo.*
 67 *ille licet Cilicium victas agat ante catervas.*
 3, 83 *at tu casta precor maneat.*
 4, 53–4 *rapias tum cara licebit oscula.*
 6, 56 *sit precor illa levis.*
 9, 40 *sit precor exemplo sit levis illa tuo.*
 9, 49 *illa velim rapida Vulcanus carmina flamma etc.*
 III, 6, 26 *quid valeat laesi sentiat ira dei.*

⁵¹ See Emilius Schuenke, *De traiectione coniunctionum et pronominis relativi apud poetas Latinos*, Kiliae, 1906. It does not, however, deal with books III and IV.

⁵² Goldbéry defends the word-order (reading *lena*) by Hor. *Serm.* I, 1, 88, which is not at all conclusive: (1) because it is only an instance of the traiection of the relative, and (2) were it an even more complicated order, such order in Horace would not justify its introduction into the text of Tibullus.

⁵³ Of course sentences are not included wherein the whole subordinate clause precedes the main clause.

⁵⁴ We have, however, an interrogative pronoun in the verse from Lygdamus.

This use is quite characteristic of the *Corpus Tibullianum* and might be a development of the purely parenthetical use, as in

II, 3, 74 *mos precor ille redi.*

III, 12 (IV, 6), 8 *sed iuveni quaeso mutua vincla para.*

(2) This isolated case:

I, 4, 25-6 *perque suas impune sinit Dictynna sagittas*
adfirmes, crines perque Minerva suos.

Leaving this passage for the present, we find besides the following instances of peculiar word-order:

II, 3, 14 *quidquid erat medicae vicerat artis amor.*

III, 16 (IV, 10), 5-6 *solliciti sunt pro nobis, quibus illa doloris*
ne cedam ignoto maxima causa toro.

In these last two instances, however, instead of a thrusting forward of a portion of the subordinate clause into the main clause, we have the reverse condition, i.e. where a word of the modifying clause (which precedes the clause on which it depends) is delayed and placed in the main clause; but in both instances of the delayed word, a modifying adjective (*medicae*, II, 3, 14, and *ignoto*, III, 16 [IV, 10], 6) causes the mind to remain in suspense, waiting for the noun each is to modify (*artis*, II, 3, 14, and *toro*, III, 16 [IV, 10], 6).

I, 4, 25-6, to recur to that passage, resembles class 1, cited above, in that the subordinate clause has no conjunction; moreover, the only portion of the subordinate clause that has thrust itself forward is *per suas*: the mind, as in the two instances just discussed, waits for the noun which *suas* is to modify, which appears in *sagittas*, the first word of the subordinate clause.

Nowhere, therefore, in the *Corpus Tibullianum* do we find a single word taken from out of the subordinate clause (and in fact the subject of that clause), and embedded in the main clause—a condition which would be demanded by reading *lena* or *lingua*.

Nonne never appears in the *Corpus Tibullianum*; *-ne* is always appended to the first word in the sentence and verse, save in III, 11 (IV, 5), 20, where it appears twice in an indirect question, but in its usual position in the clause.

The chief difficulty in the reading *saepe* (and it seems to me insuperable) is the palaeographical one. But it may also be

noted that its position is unusual. The word is found in the *Corpus Tibullianum*⁵⁵ nineteen times,⁵⁶ of which eighteen are in books I and II, and one in III, 6, 4; of these uses, eighteen precede the verb and only one follows it, this being I, 6, 21 where we have the expression *quam saepe*. (Note that the deferred *quam cito* in I, 4, 28 also follows its verb.) Again, of these nineteen uses, fourteen appear as the first word in the verse and word-group, two as the second word in the verse and sentence (I, 9, 61 and II, 5, 35) and only three later in the sentence and verse, of which two involve the expression *quam saepe* (I, 6, 21 and I, 8, 53) and the third is at the earliest possible position in its clause (II, 3, 59). Consequently the use of *saepe* in Tibullus is decidedly against its employment here in this position in the sentence and verse, even aside from the palaeographical difficulties and Wilhelm's well-taken criticism⁵⁷ that it is superfluous when employed with *permissit*, which is here used, like *iussit*, as a gnomic aorist.

Francken's insertion of *verba* here and the substitution of *lingua* for *verba* in the following verse appear changes altogether too violent to be probable.

The fact therefore that the readings thus far proposed are so unsatisfactory, should make us welcome Postgate's suggestion of *vina* all the more.

I, 10, 37

Proposed reading:

illie (*parcel!*) *ustisque genis ustoque capillo*
errat ad obscuros pallida turba lacus.

For the words suggested the reading of AVG is *percussisque*; P, *percissisque*; and ζ, *perculsisque*. The bulk of the editions read as A or P, *percussisque* appearing, for example, in Muretus, Husehke, Maittaire, Lachmann, Dissen, Baehrens, and Postgate. *Percissisque* is the reading of Guyet, Scaliger (editions of 1600 and 1607), Volz, Francken,⁵⁸ L. Mueller, Hiller, Ramsay, and

⁵⁵ III, 14 (IV, 8), 6 is too unsettled to cite in this list.

⁵⁶ See the Index Verborum in Hiller's edition.

⁵⁷ *N. Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.*, 151 (1895), 769.

⁵⁸ *Philol.*, 28 (1869), 573.

Schulze. In the editions before 1600, Scaliger read *percisisque*. Heinsius' conjecture of *exesisque* was adopted by Broukhusius, Heyne, and Becker. Voss, Bach, and Bauer read *perculsisque*. Livineius and Dousa P. suggested *pertusisque*, which Postgate introduced into his *Selections*. Lachmann's conjecture, *rescissisque*,⁵⁹ was approved and accepted by Gruppe, Haupt-Vahlen,⁶⁰ and Jacoby. Goerenz read *peresisque*, which is unmetrical. Moreover Rabus proposed *percoctisque*; Belling, *praescissisque*; B. Fabricius, *exustisque*, which was also read by G. Némethy,⁶¹ who changed in addition *ustoque* to *tostoque*. Némethy had previously (1905) proposed *perfossisque*.

Many scholars accept the readings named with reluctance. Thus Ramsay would prefer *exesisque*, save that "it involves a great change in the text." Wratislaw and Sutton declare *percussisque* corrupt, but add that "no satisfactory emendation has been proposed." Dissen also calls it "corrupta lectio" and feels that such a word as *exesisque* gives the sense required: "consilio loci accommodatissima, pr. excavatis, absumta carne per ignem rogi."

To take *percussis* as "struck with fear" is bold; moreover the linking of such a thought with *usto capillo* is exceedingly unnatural; to give it the meaning "driven in, i.e. hollow, sunken" seems entirely unwarranted. As to *percissis*, it would be appropriate if used of the mourners, not of the dead themselves. In the same way *percussis* with its literal meaning would fit the mourners but not the dead. Voss' interpretation of *perculsis*, "mit Wangen voll Todesangst, d.i. blass und verzerrt," is ludicrous.

Exactly the thought that such scholars as Dissen suggest, "excavatis, absumta carne per ignem rogi," would be obtained by reading *ustis*. "*Parce!*" is the expression falling from the poet's lips as the grewsome picture presents itself to his mind. "There (ah, spare me!) with cheeks burned away and hair burned away, the wan throng wanders by the dark pools."

⁵⁹ Cf. *Kleinere Schriften*, II (1876), 147.

⁶⁰ In the edition of 1904 *percussisque* appears.

⁶¹ Cf. *Rhein. Museum*, 64 (1909), 471.

No instance of *ustae genae* has come to my notice, but a rather interesting parallel is found in Propertius III, 12, 26:

*exustaeque tuae mox, Polypheme, genae.*⁶²

One may cite Propertius IV, 1, 44 for some points of similarity:

et verita est umeros urere flamma pios.

Moreover, the burning of the funeral-pyre is also referred to in Propertius III, 15, 46:

te solam et lignis funeris ustus amem.

Propertius IV, 7, 7-9 (of Cynthia's ghost) is sometimes cited with reference to this passage:

*eosdem habuit secum quibus est elata capillis,
eosdem oculos lateri vestis adusta fuit,
et solitum digito beryllon adederat ignis.*

It must be noted, however, that the very first verse of this quotation contradicts our *usto capillo*.

In Tibullus' elegy the horrors of death are portrayed, and the picture that he is seeking to present is of *atra mors*. Therefore he represents the *pallida turba* of ghosts wandering by the *obscurus lacus*, mere skeletons with hair and flesh burned from them. It is not the dead individual whose loved image is being recalled as it was in the prime of life or as last seen on earth, but the throng of the dead, each as the flames of the funeral-pyre have left him. And as this horrible picture comes before his mind, Tibullus shrinks back and pleads "parce!" Just so he pleads for escape from death in I, 3, 51, *parce, pater*. The picture here being more grewsome, the "parce!" falls from his lips even before he depicts the scene.

The words *parce!* and *parcite!* are frequently found in Tibullus: in books I and II⁶³ we find thirteen instances as compared with five in all of Propertius.⁶⁴ As an appeal for protection we find *at mihi parce, Venus* (I, 2, 97). In I, 3, 51 we have just seen that it is used with reference to death; there *mihi* is also omitted as here. The dative is likewise omitted in I, 4, 83; I, 5, 7; I, 9, 5; and II, 6, 29. Of these I, 5, 7 most nearly resembles the

⁶² Here *genae* = "die Augenhöhhlung oder das Auge" (Rothstein).

⁶³ Cf. *Index Verborum* in Hiller's edition.

⁶⁴ Cf. Phillimore, *Index Verborum Propertianus*.

proposed reading, because not only is the dative omitted, but no vocative is expressed:

parce tamen, per te furtivi foedera lecti
per venerem quaeso compositumque caput.

In II, 6, 29 also, both vocative and dative are omitted with *parce*, but as the vocative, *dura puella*, appeared in the preceding verse, its omission is less striking.

One does not have to search far in Tibullus for examples of such repetitions as *ustis—usto*. Of this very verb, *urere*, there are three examples in Tibullus:

II, 4, 5-6 et seu quid merui seu quid peccavimus, *urit*.
uror, io, remove, saeva puella, facies.
II, 2, 3 *urantur* pia tura focus, *urantur* odores.
I, 9, 15 *uretur* facies, *urentur* sole capilli.

Of these three examples, the first and last are interesting as not employing *urere* in precisely the same form in the two uses; this is also the case in the proposed reading.

No example of elided *parce* appears in the Corpus Tibullianum, but we find *parce oculis* in Propertius IV, 9, 53 and similar elisions in Juvenal VIII, 117 and Seneca *Her. Oct.* 1447. Sentences of command limited to the imperative appear in II, 1, 87 (*ludite*), II, 3, 79 (*ducite*), II, 5, 121 (*adnue*). Parenthetical expressions we find for example in I, 3, 26 (an elided *memini*) and I, 8, 69 (*moneo*). Moreover the use of such an expression to impart vividness appears in II, 2, 10:

en age (quid cessas? adnuit ille) roga.

The change from (*parce!*) *ustisque* to *percussisque* is very easily explained palaeographically. The moment the scribe failed to see that he had two words, and regarded them as one,⁶⁵ it was easy for the first syllable of *parce* to be altered to *per*. The interchange moreover of *a* and *e* is frequent in the MSS. To change *t* of *ustisque* to another *s* was natural, owing to the presence of this letter twice in the word, and the fact that the word *percussis* is a common one.

Tibullus then represents a ghastly throng as wandering by

⁶⁵ For examples of similar errors in incorrect division into words, see page 216.

the pools of the lower world; in other words, his picture of the dead is closely akin to that in Ovid *Ibis* 143-4:

tum quoque factorum veniam memor umbra tuorum,
insequar et vultus ossea forma tuos.

II, 2, 17-22

Proposed reading:

vota cadunt: 'utinam strepitantibus advolet alis
flavaque coniugio vincula portet Amor,
vincula, quae maneant semper, dum tarda senectus
inducat rugas inficiatque comas.'
hic veniat (Natalis, *ades*) prolemque ministret,
ludat et ante tuos turba novella pedes.

These verses read in A exactly as above (disregarding *vinculaque manent*) save that *ades* appears as *avis*. In but few of the editions is the MS reading retained, and, in addition to difficulties of reading, those of interpretation also arise in considering these verses.

Utinam is read by most editors, but *viden ut*, the conjecture of Guyet and Heinsius (suggested by II, 1, 25) appears in the editions of Broukhusius, Volpi, Heyne, Voss, Huschke, Golbéry, L. Mueller, and Postgate.⁶⁶ Baehrens proposed *ut iam* and altered to *advolat* and *portat*; these readings Woltjer and Jurenka followed.

The inferior reading, *trepidantibus*, which Broukhusius introduced into his text, is now universally rejected and need not detain us.

On the score of a reading *cadant ζ*, Haupt proposed *vota cadant utinam! str.*, etc. Postgate also independently made this suggestion,⁶⁷ but later⁶⁸ rejected it and proposed *vota cadant tibi, nam*.

Verse 21 is the most altered of all the verses. The MS reading *hic* (hęc G) *veniat natalis avis prolemque ministret*, is fol-

⁶⁶ *Selections*. In his complete edition, Postgate reads *utinam*, commenting however "quod vix sanum." Dissen, while not placing *viden ut* in the text, approves of it as "praeclara coniectura."

⁶⁷ *Journal of Philology*, 25 (1897), 51.

⁶⁸ *Journal of Philology*, 26, 184 foll.

lowed by Goldbéry and Haupt-Vahlen,⁶⁹ and, with a change to *prolesque*, by Rothstein.⁷⁰ The MS reading with the capitalization of *Natalis*, is followed by Lachmann⁷¹ and Gruppe. Drenckhahn would punctuate *hic veniat natalis, avis prolemque ministret*. The earlier scholars, e.g. Muretus and Scaliger, read *huc veniat natalis avis, prolemque ministret*. Heinsius proposed *huc veniat natalis, avis prolemque ministret*, and *hac veniat natalis avi prolemque ministret*, and also the latter with *venias* and *ministres*. The last of these (with a capitalization of *Natalis*) was accepted by Broukhusius, Heyne,⁷² Voss, the Delphin Classics, and Becker. This conjecture, *hac . . . avi*, but with the verbs retained in the third person, is approved by Huschke, Dissen, Hiller, L. Mueller, Jacoby,⁷³ and Jurenka. Bauer reads *huc venias, Natalis avis, prolemque ministres*. Baehrens (in Tib. Bl., p. 89) suggests *hic veniat Natalis avis (avo?) prolesque ministret Ludat ut ante*, etc.; in his edition, however, we find *haec veniat genialis avis; prolesque ministret*, in which Woltjer follows him. Graef thinks the distich spurious or that the genuine words of the hexameter (perhaps *interea, Natalis, ave prolemque ministra*) have been very seriously corrupted. *Eveniat* was Housman's suggestion for the beginning of the verse; Postgate's *haec (hęc G) valeat* (which he incorporated in his *Selections*)⁷⁴ and *haec veniat, Natalis, avis*, etc., which appears in his complete edition. Belling read *sic*⁷⁵ *veniat natalis avis, prolesque ministret*.

In the final verse, *et* found in practically all of the editions is converted into *ut* (ξ) by Voss, Huschke, Baehrens, and Woltjer; and Dissen also approves of it.

⁶⁹ H. Magnus, *Berliner philol. Wochenschrift*, 13 (1893), 1550 declares the MS reading "gewiss nicht unecht."

⁷⁰ Cf. *Bursian Jahr.*, 51, 336 foll.

⁷¹ Cf. *Kleinere Schriften*, II (1876), 147.

⁷² Heyne was, however, dissatisfied with the reading and proposed: "Sic venias, Natalis, avis" or "Hic veniat natalis avis, prolemque ministret" (the MS reading).

⁷³ Jacoby: "Ist *avis* nicht vielleicht nur durch Dittographie von *-alis* entstanden und hat ein anderes Wort verdrängt?"

⁷⁴ Cf. *Journal of Philology*, 26 (1898-9), 184 foll. In the *Classical Review*, 9 (1895), 74-8, he favored *prolesque ministret . . . ut*.

⁷⁵ R. Ewald, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 16 Jahrg. (1895), 937-40, had proposed: "sic veniat natalis avis." See also *Philol.*, 54 (1895), 459.

“*Utinam*,” according to Postgate, “is clearly wrong, as the appearance of Love is the sign that the prayer is granted”; and similarly Broukhusius declares: “post vota rata, quid hic faciat *utinam*, optandi particula, vix bene perspicui potest.” It is such objections that have caused suspicion to be cast on, or changes to be made in *utinam*.

Let us rather, however, take the text as it stands, and consider the meaning of the individual words from their context. *Vota* would of course be the prayers of Cornutus, those which he was urged to make in verse 10 and the contents of which the poet foretells (note the tense of *optabis*) in verses 11 to 16 inclusive. Passing over *cadunt* for the time being, we come to *utinam*. Here we evidently have the *vota* themselves.⁷⁶ That is, the long-delayed prayers of Cornutus begin with the word *utinam* and continue to the end of verse 20. As we are waiting for the prayers, *vota* at once brings them sharply before the mind and *utinam* introduces them. What now of *cadunt*? It evidently cannot mean “frustranea et irrita sunt,”⁷⁷ for this would make their subsequent statement entirely out of place, and would moreover be contradictory to verses 9–10:

adnuat et, Cornute, tibi quodeumque rogabis.
en age (quid cessas? adnuit ille) roga.

But, with very few exceptions, *cadunt* is interpreted *rata sunt*, *eveniunt*, and yet, as has been stated, for the prayers to follow immediately on a statement that they “are realized,” is hardly natural. The difficulty, it appears to me, is to be met by taking a different interpretation of *cadunt*, rather than by altering *utinam*. Does *cadere* ever mean precisely *ratum esse*? Becker (*Elegeia Romana*) says: “Scire tamen velim quo alio loco *cadere* i.e. *accidere* positum sit pro *evenire*, *ratum esse* (in Erfüllung gehen).” Is it not rather true that *cadere* when applied to such words as *verbum*, *vox*, *votum*, merely means “fall

⁷⁶ Cf. Hor. *Serm.* II, 6, 59–62:

perditur haec inter misero lux non sine votis:
o rus, quando ego te adspiciam? quandoque licebit
nunc veterum libris, nunc somno et inertibus horis,
ducere sollicitae iucunda oblivia vitae?

Cf. also Hor. *Serm.* II, 6, 1.

⁷⁷ Delphin Classics.

from the lips," and are not the meanings "be lost," "fail," or the like due to some word used with *cadere* that has tinged its meaning? Compare Horace *Epist.* I, 18, 12 *sic iterat voces et verba cadentia tollit*. E. C. Wickham translates "picks up every word he lets drop." The verse from Horace gives us "verba cadunt" untinged by a modifying adjective, adverb, or phrase. "The words fall; he picks them up." Juvenal VI, 440 reads *verborum tanta cadit vis*, which is translated by John Delaware Lewis "such a power of words falls from her." If *verba cadunt* has this meaning, clearly *vota cadunt* can also.

In Ovid *Her.* 3, 98 *at mea pro nullo pondere verba cadunt*, *verba cadunt* simply means "the words fall"; the idea that they are vain comes from "pro nullo pondere" ("as of no weight"—Palmer). Propertius contains three passages that are similar:

I, 10, 24 *neu tibi pro vano verba benigna cadant.*

I, 16, 34 *at mea nocturno verba cadunt Zephyro.*

I, 17, 4 *omniaque ingrato litore vota cadunt.*

In each of these the futility of the words or prayers rests not in *cadere*, but in *pro vano*, *nocturno Zephyro*, and *ingrato litore*; they are vain because they do not reach their goal⁷⁸ and fall either on the wind or the shore.

In the only passage in Tibullus resembling that under discussion, I, 6, 85, we find:

haec aliis maledicta cadant.

The word *aliis* mentioning the goal that the *maledicta* are to reach, serves to differentiate this passage from that under consideration. Aside from that however, "May these imprecations fall upon others!" is perfectly clear, and while we may translate: "May these curses come true in the case of others!" the first rendering is satisfactory.⁷⁹

The meaning of *cadere* here defended is that first maintained (as far as known to me) by Becker (*Elegeia Romana*),⁸⁰ who

⁷⁸ Rothstein on Prop. I, 10, 24.

⁷⁹ Cf. Becker, *Elegeia Romana*.

⁸⁰ A view similar to this is put forth by Belling, *Wochenschrift f. Philol.*, 15 (1898), 459, who however makes no mention of Becker's statement. Thus Belling: "*vota cadunt*—Es muss heissen 'werden ausgesprochen.'" He does not discuss the following verses.

suggests that *cadunt* here means "pronuntiantur, funduntur." In so far I agree with Becker; he appears, however, to take *cadunt* as an historical present, and thus deals with the following verses: "Iam, inquit, pronunciata sunt vota. Utinam iis respondens advolet quam celerrime Amor, portetque felicissima coniugii vincula."

If, however, one examines carefully the sentence introduced by *utinam*, he will find that he has here the prayer in expanded form that was foretold in verse 11:

auguror, uxoris fidos optabis amores.

The idea in *optare* is of course found in *utinam* and the following subjunctives; *amores* is expressed in *advolet . . . Amor*; *uxoris* we find altered to *coniugio*, and *fidos* is amplified into *vincula, quae mancant semper*, etc. In other words, we have in full that prayer which was anticipated and briefly summarized.

It is not, then: "The prayers have been uttered; etc.," but rather: "The prayers come: 'May Love fly, etc.' " This prayer is concluded at the end of verse 20 and then the poet continues:

hic veniat (Natalis, ades) prolemque ministret.

Hic can only refer to Amor whose coming has just been prayed for; that is, the poet's "hic veniat" is his own reiteration of Cornutus' "advolet . . . Amor." The same pronoun, *hic*, is the subject of *ministret*. The term *ministrare*, as applied to the god Amor, Tibullus used in I, 10, 57 at *lascivus Amor rixae mala verba ministrat*, and it also appears in III, 12 (IV, 6), 12 *fallendique vias mille ministret Amor*. That moreover Amor should be called on to bring offspring, is in harmony with II, 1, 83-4, where he is to be called to the herd to make it prolific:

vos celebrem cantate deum (Amor, v. 80) pecorique vocate,
voce palam pecori, clam sibi quisque vocet.

The change of the MS reading *avis* to *ades* is in itself but a slight one, and is also in some measure defended by the fact that the reverse mistake (*ades* written instead of *avis*) is found in the MSS of Tibullus, II, 1, 34.⁸¹

Ades here of course is equal to *fave*: and it is used after a prayer or wish, as in III, 3, 31-33:

⁸¹ Cf. also Jacoby's note on page 196 of this paper.

haec alii cupiant; liceat mihi paupere cultu
 securo cara coniuge posse frui.
 adsis et timidis faveas, Saturnia, votis.

The direct address to the deity after the prayer, and the reference to *vota* are parallel to this passage. The use of *adesse* closely associated with some form of *votum* is found e.g. in Ovid *Fast.* III, 256; *Trist.* III, 1, 78; *Her.* VI, 151-2; Seneca *Herc. Fur.* 645-6; *Phaedra* 423; so too with *precibus*, Ovid *Am.* II, 13, 21.

That in a poem dealing with a birthday, the poet should at the end recur to the *Natalis*, addressing him directly, is closely paralleled by III, 11 (IV, 5), where verses 19 and 20 return to a direct address to *Natalis*:

at tu, natalis, quoniam deus omnia sentis,
 adnue.

In this passage moreover *adnue* is parallel to *ades*; and, besides, these verses conclude a prayer for mutual love as in our elegy:

(verses 7-9) mutuus adsit amor, per te dulcissima furta
 perque tuos oculos per geniumque rogo.
 mane geni, cape tura libens votisque faveo.

Verses 13-16 contain a reference to the *vincula* that in our passage Love is to bring.

III, 12 (IV, 6) is addressed to *Natalis Iuno*; in it verses 13 and 14 bid *dea casta*, *adnue*, and verses 7 and 8 are closely parallel to portions of the elegy under discussion:

at tu, saneta, fave, nō quis divellat amantes,
 sed iuveni quaeso mutua vincla para.

In I, 7 (one of Tibullus' own elegies) the last distich makes a direct address to *Natalis*:

at tu, natalis multos celebrande por annos,
 candidior semper candidiorque veni.

The coupling of the appeal to *Natalis* and the prayer for progeny also bears some resemblance to I, 7, where we find in I, 7, 55 *at tibi succrescat proles*, etc., and in 63-4, just quoted, an appeal to the natal god. The appeal is perfectly natural in the light of the following statement in Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, I, 1615: "Dem Genius lag dem Gesagten gemäss vornehmlich die Tutel

des Ehebettes ob, welches nach ihm ständig *lectus genialis* hiess (so an vielen Stellen: bei Catull 64, 47 auch *pulvinar geniale; torus* bei Liv. 30, 12, 21 ist unsicher). *Nuptiis sternitur in honorem genii* erklärt Festi epit. 94. . . . Beim Laberius (v. 54 R.) heisst derselbe *generis nostri parens* d.i. 'das die Familie von einer Generation zur andern erhaltende Prinzip.' (Preller).'' Cf. Arnobius 2, 67 *cum in matrimonium convenitis, toga sternitis lectulos et maritorum genios advocatis . . . ?* And so too Preller (*Röm. Mythol.* 1, 78) speaks of the *lectus genialis* "wo der Genius der Familie segnend und befruchtend waltet, dass es dem Hause nie an Kindern fehle."

And finally with the interpretation thus far given of the passage, *tuos* (v. 22) would clearly refer to *Natalis* just preceding.

II, 3, 61

Proposed reading:

at tibi, dura, (seges, Nemesis, quia ducit ab urbe)
persolvat nulla semina terra fide.

In this distich the reading of A is:

at tibi dura seges nemesis qui abduē⁸² ab urbe,
persolvat nulla semina terra fide.

The reading of V is also *nemesis*, but in Vm2 and G we read *nemesim*. For *qui*, ζ have *quae*. Instead of *abduē*, V reads *abducit*; ζ, *abducis*. Some inferior MSS read *quia ducis*, where A has *qui abduē*.

All editors, as far as I know, read *Nemesim* or *Nemesin*⁸³ and change *abducit* or *ducit* to the second person.⁸⁴ (Rigler proposed *quae abduxit*). A typical reading is that of Hiller:

at tibi dura seges, Nemesim qui abducis ab urbe,
persolvat nulla semina certa fide.

⁸² So Hiller and Wilhelm: *abducit* say Baehrens and Postgate. See *Wochenschrift für klass. Phil.*, 23 (1906), 1148.

⁸³ In *Berliner phil. Wochenschrift*, 29 (1909), 1467, Cartault (1909)—whose work I have not seen—is said to read "At tibi dura seges Nemesis qui abducit ab urbe."

⁸⁴ Save F. Wilhelm, *N. Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.*, 151 (1895), 770, who defends *abducit*, its subject being *qui* which in turn refers to *tibi*, by Tib. I, 2, 33. This does not appear analogous. But in *Rhein. Museum* 59 (1904), 283, he discusses the passage, reading *abducis*. Belling (*Prolegomena*, 62) approves of *quia ducit*, but in his "Tibullus" he reverts to *quae abducis*.

Tibi, thus taken, refers to the rich lover just mentioned. The reading *certa* (ascribed to Pucci) is a substitute for *terra* O.⁸⁵

The following variations in the readings are found:

at changed to *sit*—Rossbach, followed by Baehrens.

seges changed to *Ceres*—N. Heinsius, followed by Broukhusius, Joh. Schrader, Heyne, Voss, Golbéry, Dissen, L. Mueller, and Belling.

qui changed to *quae* (ζ)—Aldus, Scaliger, Grasser, Broukhusius, Mattaire, Joh. Schrader, Heyne, Voss, Golbéry, Dissen, Rigler, Belling, Postgate.

quia ducis ζ

quae ducis ζ—Aldus, Grasser, Voss.

Nemesim changed to *Venerem*—Joh. Schrader.

terra changed to *certa*—Lachmann, Gruppe, Hiller, Haupt-Vahlen, L. Mueller, R. Ullrich, F. Wilhelm.

For *terra* Statius and Canter proposed *tecta*.

As has been pointed out, practically none of the editors keep *Nemesis* and *abducit*, and most of them make at least one other alteration in the MS reading. The reading proposed follows A in detail, save that *quia* (ζ) *ducit* appears for *qui abducit*; in other words, an effort is made to restore the text by dropping but a single letter of the MS reading and in one instance altering the division into words.

The translation would run: "But to thee, O cruel one, because 'tis the crop, Nemesis, that leads thee from the city, may the earth prove false and fail to give back the seeds."

The word *quia* appears in Tib. I, 4, 13, and the frequency of its use in Propertius⁸⁶ warrants its appropriateness in elegiac poetry of this period.

The trajection of conjunctions in Tibullus is exceedingly common, as this list⁸⁷ witnesses:⁸⁸

cum—I, 1, 47; I, 1, 59; I, 2, 65; I, 3, 9; I, 4, 33; I, 5, 12; I, 7, 21; I, 7, 61; I, 10, 8; II, 1, 47; II, 3, 29; II, 5, 14; II, 5, 109.

dum—I, 2, 4; I, 2, 73; I, 3, 25; I, 3, 56; II, 3, 19.

dummodo—I, 1, 58.

modo—I, 2, 31.

⁸⁵ But cf. Postgate, *Journal of Philology*, 26 (1898-9), 186.

⁸⁶ See Phillimore, *Index Verborum Propertianus*.

⁸⁷ Derived from E. Schuenke, *De traiectione coniunctionum*, etc., Kiliae, 1906.

⁸⁸ This list is confined to books I and II.

ne—I, 1, 67; I, 3, 21; I, 5, 5; I, 6, 20; I, 8, 29; I, 9, 17.

ni—I, 4, 63.

qua—II, 2, 16; II, 5, 96.

quam (*saepe*)—I, 6, 21.

qui (all forms of the relative)—I, 1, 50; I, 3, 7; I, 7, 3; I, 7, 13;

I, 9, 24; I, 9, 72; I, 10, 1; I, 10, 6; II, 4, 10; II, 4, 45; II, 5, 16;
II, 5, 40; II, 5, 68; II, 6, 5; II, 6, 8.

quicumque—I, 2, 39; I, 4, 39; I, 10, 59; II, 2, 13.

quod—I, 3, 79.

quotiens—II, 6, 13.

si—I, 1, 44; I, 2, 71; I, 4, 15; I, 4, 49; I, 6, 23; I, 6, 33; I, 6, 74;
I, 8, 61; I, 9, 19; II, 4, 33; II, 4, 53.

ubi—I, 4, 31.

ut—I, 1, 18; I, 2, 2; I, 4, 52; I, 6, 16; I, 9, 26; I, 10, 48; II, 1, 2;
II, 1, 15; II, 1, 50; II, 3, 45; II, 5, 72; II, 6, 42.

While there are no instances of a postponed *quia* in Tibullus, it may be noted that the causal conjunction *quod* is found thus deferred. But the trajection of *quia* is sufficiently common in other authors to justify this position here. It is found in :

Plautus—*As.* 386; *Curc.* 225; *Men.* 513; *Mil.* 54; *Trin.* 1165.

Lucretius—I, 169; I, 176; I, 221; II, 607; III, 278; III, 364; III, 746; III, 1070; IV, 92; IV, 241; IV, 355; IV, 694; IV, 1242;
V, 357; VI, 349; VI, 353; VI, 841; VI, 909; VI, 1059.

Terence—*Hec.* 681.

Cicero—*Aratea* 12.

Virgil—*Aen.* VIII, 650.

Horace—*Serm.* I, 3, 92–3 and I, 9, 51; *Epist.* II, 3, 295 and II, 3, 376; *Carm.* IV, 9, 28.

Aetna—284.

In its opening as well as in the trajection, the verse resembles Propertius III, 18, 31–2:

at tibi, nauta, pias hominum qui traicis umbras,
huc animae portent corpus inane tuae.

In the trajection and the appearance of another vocative in the subordinate clause, Virgil *Aen.* XII, 179–180 is parallel:

tuque inclute Mavors,
cuneta tuo qui bella, pater, sub numine torques.

Tibullus himself in II, 5, 113–4 has a distich that closely resembles the one under discussion:

at tu, nam divum servat tutela poetas,
praemoneo, vati parce, puella, sacro.

The beginning *at tu* resembles the *at tibi* under discussion; in each instance we have the causal clause closely following; and in each instance we have a delayed vocative.

Moreover, in the same way in which the *quia*-clause here precedes the major portion of the main clause, it appears in the only other instance of the word's use in Tibullus, I, 4, 13:

hic, quia fortis adest audacia, cepit.

Cf. also I, 3, 57-8 and Propertius IV, 2, 11 and IV, 10, 47.

The object of *ducit* is so clearly apparent that it would seem needless to express it in this verse. So we find *abducere* without an object in III, 9 (IV, 3), 5:

sed procul abducit venandi Delia cura.

And still nearer at hand, we have in verse 79 of this very elegy:

ducite: ad imperium dominae sulcabimus agros.

If *abducere* should be thought preferable to *ducere* here, it would be well to notice that neither with *abducit*, III, 9 (IV, 3), 5, nor *abducta*, III, 14 (IV, 8), 7, is the *locus a quo* mentioned. Tibullus writes, however, (I, 2, 43) *hanc ego de caelo ducentem sidera vidi*, using the simple verb; and in the following instances Propertius uses *ducere* together with the *locus a quo*:

II, 13, 6 aut possim Ismaria ducere valle feras.

II, 1, 56 ex hac ducentur funera nostra domo.

Durus, as applied to Nemesis, is perfectly appropriate, "*nam*" (as Pichon⁸⁹ says) "*duri dicuntur qui amorem oblatum respuunt neque precibus commoventur.*" Thus in Tibullus I, 8, 50 we find *in veteres esto dura, puella*,⁹⁰ *senes*. And in II, 6, 28 Nemesis is directly called so: *ei mihi, ne vincas, dura puella, deam*. She is also called *saeva puella* in II, 4, 6. Other passages where mistresses are termed *dura* are: Propertius I, 1, 9-10; I, 7, 6; I, 17, 16; II, 1, 78; II, 22, 11; II, 22, 43; II, 24, 47; IV, 2, 23; Ovid *Am.* I, 9, 19; *Her.* XX, 5; *Ars Am.* II, 527; *Fast.* IV, 111 and VI, 120.

While *dura* is not used substantively in Tibullus, yet note that it is in the last passage cited (Ovid *Fast.* VI, 120):

⁸⁹ René Pichon, *De sermone amatorio apud Latinos elegiarum scriptores*, Paris, 1902. From it the following instances are drawn.

⁹⁰ Note the sense-pause between *dura* and *puella*. So *dura* and *seges* in this passage.

viderat hanc Ianus, visaeque cupidine captus
ad duram verbis mollibus usus erat.

Moreover the authors of the Corpus (including Tibullus himself) use other adjectives substantively in the vocative case, often indeed with forms of *tu*:

- I, 9, 65 nec tu, stultissime, sentis.
II, 1, 81 sancte, veni dapibus festis.
III, 8 (IV, 2), 3 at tu, violente, caveto.
III, 10 (IV, 4), 9 sancte, veni.
III, 12 (IV, 6), 7 at tu, sancta, fave.

It may also be noted that in this very elegy (II, 3), we find in the immediate vicinity the following feminine forms of adjectives used substantively: *formas* (65) and *mea* (77).

As to the form *Nemesis*, Postgate⁹¹ admits that the vocative in *-is* of such Greek words is found in prose and comedy, "but," he assumes, "it was not tolerated in the refined compositions of the Hellenizing poesy." The form *Nēmēsī* is, however, of course "metrically unavailable," and we do find the vocative *Nemesis* in Auson. *Idyll.* 8, 41 (III, 5, 41 in the edition of R. Peiper) *mitibus audi auribus hoc, Nemesis*. Moreover, the statement in Charisius I, 17 implies no such limitation: "Mysis o Mysis Terentius, ut o *crinis funis cinis*. Graeci demunt s litteram, nostri parem nominativo vocativum servant." And, most important of all, in this passage *Nemesis* is the reading of AV.

In the text as reconstituted *seges* assumes a very prominent position and justly so, for it is the wealth of the country, its crops and vintage, that lead *Nemesis* away from the city. And it is just because the wealth of the country has enticed her away that the poet prays that the earth may fail to send up a harvest.

The method in which the text became corrupted is apparent: *dura*, standing next to *seges*, was taken to modify it; because *tibi* was supposed to refer to the lover just mentioned, it was easy for *quia* to be made into the relative *qui*, the antecedent of which was *tibi*. The *a* remaining, together with *ducit*, under the influence of *ab urbe*, easily became *abducit*.

⁹¹ *Classical Review*, 23, 186-7. The vocative form is discussed in Neugebauer *Formenlehre*, 1, 443.

II, 4, 43

Proposed reading:

*Sed veniet tibi mors, nec erit qui lugeat ullus,
nec qui det maestas munus in exsequias.*

Where the above reading proposes *sed*, all the MSS (as far as known to me) unite in the reading *seu*, nor is it known that *seu* has ever been questioned. *Veniet* has not escaped thus, however; the reading of A (*veniet*) appears as *veniat* in VG, and this latter reading is accepted by Scaliger, Broukhusius, Voss, Wunderlich, Bach, and Baehrens. Moreover Scaliger, Dousa, and Broukhusius alter *nec erit* to *neque sit*.⁹² Belling, too, though not incorporating it in his text, approves of *nec sit*.⁹³ By these changes we should secure a succession of present subjunctives to harmonize with *eripiant* (40), *spectent* (41), and *addat* (42). *Veniet* (and far more, *erit*) has maintained its position (1) because the reading of A; (2) as Dissen points out, “*neque enim dubium venturam mortem*”; (3) because of its agreement with *erit*.⁹⁴ Reading then *veniet*, we should have the verse:

seu veniet tibi mors, nec erit qui lugeat ullus.

First of all, the verse seems suspicious because of the thought: “Or if death comes.”⁹⁵ But death will come; how can it be stated conditionally? Tibullus could of course have easily referred to an early death conditionally, or a long-deferred death, but hardly to death in general. Thus in the former two cases, we find in the *Panegyric*, III, 7 (IV, 1), 205–6:

*seu matura dies celerem properat mihi mortem,
longa manet seu vita.*

⁹² The earlier editions (e.g. Aldus and Muretus) have *neque erit*.

⁹³ *Philol.*, 47, 382.

⁹⁴ Of the examples cited by Voss wherein a present subjunctive in the protasis is found coupled with a future indicative in the apodosis, Virg. *Ecl.*, IV, 58, “*Pan mecum si certet, Pan dicet se victum*,” should evidently be read *dicat*. In Prop. II, 26, 29, clearly the fact stated in the protasis is unlikely to come to pass (therefore present subjunctive); but should it come true, the conclusion would inevitably be realized (therefore future indicative). But in our passage the first is absolutely certain, is not in any sense unlikely.

⁹⁵ Cranstoun translates: “When death shall come,” but no authority is cited for this meaning.

But as to the inevitableness of death, listen to Tibullus I, 1, 70:

iam veniet tenebris mors adoperta caput.

and I, 10, 34:

imminet [mors] et tacito clam venit illa pede.

The time may be doubtful, but never the fact:

I, 1, 59-60 te spectem, suprema mihi cum venerit hora,
te teneam moriens deficiente manu.

So too III, 2, 9 foll. and III, 3, 9-10.⁹⁶ The only conditional expressions noted in the Corpus Tibullianum in connection with death are:

I, 3, 53 quod si fatales iam nunc explevimus annos.
III, 5, 31-2 vivite felices, memores et vivite nostri,
sive erimus seu nos fata fuisse velint.

But in neither of these is it doubted that death will surely come, the only element of doubt being that of its coming at a specific time. The second quotation, for example, reads: "Live happily and live remembering me whether (at that time) I shall be living or the fates should wish my life to be no more." In other words, "if I shall be living at a definite time" (expressed or implied) is quite a different thing from saying "if death shall come."

The second objection to the verse lies in the word *seu*. *Sive* and *seu* are found in pairs⁹⁷ in the following passages in the Corpus Tibullianum:

I, 1, 11-12.	III, 7 (IV, 1), 45-6.
I, 2, 17-18	III, 7 (IV, 1), 66.
I, 2, 33.	III, 7 (IV, 1), 79-80.
I, 10, 21-22.	III, 7 (IV, 1), 95.
II, 4, 5.	III, 7 (IV, 1), 96.
II, 6, 3.	III, 7 (IV, 1), 101-3.
III, 1, 6.	III, 7 (IV, 1), 159-60.
III, 1, 26.	III, 8 (IV, 2), 9-10.
III, 3, 14.	III, 8 (IV, 2), 11-12.
III, 4, 11-12.	III, 9 (IV, 3), 1-2.
III, 5, 32.	

We find a group of three in III, 7 (IV, 1), 25-6 and a group of

⁹⁶ Cf. Prop. II, 13, 17, "quandocumque igitur nostros mors claudet ocellos."

⁹⁷ i.e. *sive* (or *seu*) used twice, or *sive* with *seu*.

five in III, 7 (IV, 1), 205-9. The only uses of a single *seu*⁹⁸ or *sive* are the following:

I, 6, 21 exhibit quam saepe, time, *seu* visere dicet
sacra Bonae maribus non adeunda Deae.

III, 7 (IV, 1), 94 *seu* libeat.

The first (the only one in Tibullus) is to be translated "even if";⁹⁹ the second, "or if." The first meaning is not possible here; it would take the fact of death, already conditioned so abnormally, and place it even farther in the range of improbability. The second is, of course, no criterion for the usage of Tibullus, as it occurs in the *Panegyric*; moreover it would retain the conditional force which is so unnatural here.

Draeger¹⁰⁰ cites the following examples of a single *sive* or *seu* = "or if" in the poets: Horace *Od.* I, 6, 19; I, 15, 24; III, 27, 61; *Serm.* II, 1, 59; perhaps Virgil *Aen.* XI, 327; Tibullus II, 4, 43;¹⁰¹ IV, I, 93; Propertius III, 21, 8 and 33; IV, 6, 81 and Ovid *Her.* X, 97. The use is therefore a rather rare one, and in the meaning here suggested has no warrant in Tibullus' diction.

The objections to *seu* are therefore two-fold: first and more important, as to sense, and second, as to the use of *seu* in Tibullus.

For it the reading *sed* is proposed. This involves the change of but a single letter, and the alteration of the *d* can easily be accounted for by the initial letter of the following word. We should then have (after the wishes of verses 39-42): "But death will come to thee, and there will be no one to mourn." In other words, the adversative conjunction *sed* with the future indicative, stating a fact as unmistakable after a previous wish, acquires the tone of "but however that may be," "but however my wish may turn out"; that is, it discusses the destined future state even if the wish be not fulfilled. For this use, compare Horace *Serm.* II, 1, 42-6:

⁹⁸ Excluding the passage under discussion, of course.

⁹⁹ See Dissen's note. This use is classed by Draeger under the following: "Dies *sive*, welches für *vel si* steht, ist zuweilen, aber nur in der Sprache der Juristen und der Dichter, einem vorausgehenden Satze oder Ausdrücke coordinirt, der zwar nicht die Form, aber den Sinn eines Bedingungssatzes hat."

¹⁰⁰ *Historische Syntax der Lateinischen Sprache*, II, 149.

¹⁰¹ The passage here under discussion.

o pater et rex
Iuppiter, ut pereat positum rubigine telum,
nec quisquam noceat cupido mihi pacis! *at* ille
qui me commorit (melius non tangere, clamo),
flebit et insignis tota cantabitur urbe.

Somewhat analogous is Propertius I, 8, 9 foll.:

O utinam hibernae duplicentur tempora brumae,
et sit iners tardis navita Vergiliis,
nec tibi Tyrrhena solvatur funis harena,
neve inimica meas elevet aura preces!
atque ego non videam tales subsidere ventos,
cum tibi provectas auferet unda rates,
ut me defixum vacua patiatur in ora
crudellem infesta saepe vocare manu!
sed quocumque modo de me, periura, mereris,
sit Galatea tuae non aliena viae.

Cf. also Lygdamus III, 5, 27–8:

atque utinam vano nequiquam terrear aestu!
languent ter quinos *sed* mea membra dies.

III, 4, 62–3 also bears on this use of *sed*:

a pereat, didicit fallere si qua virum.
sed flecti poterit: mens est mutabilis illis.

We find an excellent parallel, though the adversative conjunction is not expressed, in I, 9, 11 foll.:

at deus illa
in cinerem et liquidas munera vertat aquas.
iam mihi persolvat poenas, pulvisque decorem
detrahet et ventis horrida facta coma;
uretur facies, urentur sole capilli,
deteret invalidos et via longa pedes.

The position of *sed* at the beginning of the sentence and verse is sufficiently justified by I, 10, 15; I, 10, 53; II, 1, 31; II, 4, 24, etc.

As to the uniting of three coördinate members by *nec* between the first and second, and also between the second and third, one may readily compare the following:

- I, 1, 37–8 adsitis, divi, *nec* [neu A] vos e paupere mensa
dona *nec* e puris spernite fctilibus.
I, 1, 71–2 iam subrepet iners aetas, *nec* amare decebit,
dicere *nec* cano blanditias capite.
II, 3, 11–13 pavit et Admeti tauros formosus Apollo,
nec cithara intonsae profueruntve comae,
nec potuit curas sanare salubribus herbis.

And again, for *sed . . . nec . . . nec*, a pretty close parallel may be found in this very elegy, II, 4, 33-4:

*sed pretium si grande feras, custodia victa est,
nec prohibent claves, et canis ipse tacet.*

In other words, by reading *sed* we remove the thought of death as conditional and a rather suspicious use of *seu* in Tibullus. We introduce a word, the loss of which may easily be accounted for palaeographically, and which fits the sense of the passage and is in harmony with Tibullus' usage.

II, 5, 47

Proposed reading:

ecce mihi lucent *rutilus* incendia castris.

This reading is simply a restoration of the spelling of A and V. *Rutilus*, as spelled in ζ,¹⁰² is found in every edition of Tibullus known to me. The first suggestion that another reading might be preferable is found in Statius: "In scriptis nonnullis, *Rutilus*. Forte *rutila*, fulgentia dixit, ut Horat. in I od.¹⁰³ 'seu te fulgentia signis Castra tenent.'" The only other scholar, as far as known to me, who suspected *Rutilus*, was Carlo Pascal,¹⁰⁴ who proposed *ecce mihi lucent rutilus incendia classis*.¹⁰⁵

It is, to be sure, but a slight change from *rutilus* to *Rutilus*, and the reference to the early conflicts of Aeneas in Italy might easily suggest a mention of his enemies, the Rutulians. Reading *Rutilus* then, three possible interpretations of the passage are suggested. First, that the *Rutula . . . castra* was the city of Ardea,¹⁰⁶ the burning of which is mentioned, for example, in Ovid *Met.* XIV, 572 foll.;¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² What appears in G, I do not know, but from Baehrens' critical note I infer that *Rutilus* is its reading.

¹⁰³ Hor. *Od.* I, 7, 19-20.

¹⁰⁴ *Rivista di Filologia*, 17 (1889), 452-4.

¹⁰⁵ This reading takes *rutilus* as an adjective of the third declension, but, as Cartault points out, its use here would be "avec une faute de quantité."

¹⁰⁶ Suggested as a possibility by Heyne.

¹⁰⁷ It is of course true that in some respects the two passages resemble each other.

from this that it is mentioned in some other author, but, if so, the various editors have entered into a conspiracy of silence. It is surely true that there may have been a firing of the Rutulian camp by the Trojans, but what right have we to alter the reading of the MSS in order to get an allusion to an event, the only mention of which appears in this very word?

Recurring to the whole passage, we find that the Sibyl refers only to the more important events in the future history of the Trojans, the events familiar to everyone who has even a slight knowledge of the classics. Thus in verse 40 we have the reference to the exiled Aeneas bearing the Trojan *sacra* in his ships; in verses 43 and 44 the death of Aeneas, the purification in the Numicius and his becoming "deus indiges"¹¹⁰ are all mentioned. And in the following verses we have allusions to Turnus' death, Laurentum, Lavinium, the founding of Alba Longa, Rhea Silvia and the love of Mars. Finally the wide domain of the future Roman state is foretold. In this summary of important events in the history of the Trojan settlement in Italy, *ecce mihi lucent . . . incendia* would suggest but one thing, i.e. the attempt of the Rutulians to burn the Trojan fleet and camp. Cf. Virgil *Aen.* IX, 69:

classem, quae lateri castrorum adiuncta latebat.

This attempt, frustrated only by the gods, is described at length in the *Aeneid* IX, 69 foll. and Ovid *Met.* XIV, 530 foll. As has been mentioned previously, the ships were actually on fire, so that the term *incendia* is perfectly appropriate.

Let us now turn to the word *rutilus*. It is used frequently in Latin as an epithet of fire:

Virgil *Aen.* VIII, 430 *rutili tris (radios) ignis.*

Virgil *Georg.* I, 454 *rutilo . . . igni.*

Ovid *Fast.* III, 285-6 *Ecce deum genitor rutilas per nubila flammasspargit.*

Ovid *Met.* IV, 402 foll. *Tecta repente quati, pinguesque ardere videntur lampades et rutilis collucere ignibus aedes.*

So too Ovid *Met.* XI, 435-6 and XII, 294-5; *Her.* III, 64; and *Stat. Theb.* IV, 5-6. From this it would be but a step to the use of *rutilus* in connection with objects reddened by fire. We

¹¹⁰ Cf. *Ov. Met.* XIV, 597-608.

find in Sil. Ital. XVI, 232 *sed prorupturis rutilabant aequora flammis* (of the dawn); Stat. *Theb.* X, 840–4 reads:

ardua mox torvo metitur culmina visu,
 innumerosque gradus, gemina latus arbore clusus,
 aërium sibi portat iter, longeque timendus
 multifidam quercum flagranti lumine vibrat;
arma rubent una elipeoque incenditur ignis.

And, while it is not strictly parallel, mention may be made of Ovid *Met.* XII, 276–7, *ferrum igne rubens* (red-hot).

The adjective “red” is not a permanent epithet of the camp; it is simply *rutilus* because of the fire. Thus in Virgil *Georg.* III, 358–9 we read *nec cum praecipitem Oceani rubro [Sol] lavit aequore currum*. Forbiger’s note is: “*rubro aequore* pro *rubescente a sole, igneo*.” Again Horace *Od.* I, 2, 2–4 run as follows:

et rubente
 dextera sacras iaculatus arces
 [Pater] terruit Urbem.

E. C. Wickham’s comment is “red from the flames of the bolt which he is launching,” and the note in the edition of Orelli-Baiter-Hirschfelder reads “a *repercusso fulminum rubore*.” But a far bolder use is that in Valerius Flaccus V, 450–1:

et iam rutilus correpta venenis
 implicat igne domos.

The lexicon of Facciolatus and Forcellinus comments: “*rutilus*; h.e. *incendia portantibus*.” On the basis of such passages, particularly Horace *Od.* I, 2, 2–4 and Virgil *Georg.* III, 358–9, it seems possible to take *rutilus . . . castris* as the camp reddened by flames. The meaning of *rutilus* is surely made clear by *lucent* and *incendia*.

If it be urged that a reference to the attempted burning of the fleet is out of place in a prophecy wherein the future triumphs of the Trojans and their descendants are mentioned, it may be noted that several other unfortunate circumstances are alluded to, though in each case a compensation for it is mentioned. In verse 42 the *lares* are termed *errantes*, though in the same verse *vocat . . . hospita terra*. The death of Aeneas which is implied is compensated for by his deification. The ships

are termed *fessae*, but Victory at last comes to them. So might one not feel here that for the attempted burning alluded to in verse 47 the death of Turnus is retribution?

ecce mihi lucent rutilis incendia castris:
iam tibi praedico, barbare Turne, necem.

III, 6, 3

Proposed reading:

aufer et ipse meum pariter *medica arte* dolorem.

This verse, on the reading of which all the best MSS agree, has been the happy hunting-ground of the emendator. The reading of AVG Plant. is *pariter medicando*.¹¹¹ This reading is found in editions before Broukhusius, as well as in Maittaire and Lachmann. Statius made the change of *medicando* to *medicande*, which was accepted among others by Guyet, Broukhusius, Voss, Golbéry, Dissen and F. Wilhelm.¹¹² Waardenburg's *patera medicante* has been chosen by Santen, Gruppe, Haupt-Vahlen, L. Mueller, Hiller, and Postgate.¹¹³ Among other readings suggested are: Husehke—*medicate*; Heyne—*pater et medicare*;¹¹⁴ Baehrens—*pater o, medicare*; Birt (*ad hist. hexam. Lat. symb.* Bonnæ 1876, p. 47)—*patera medicare*. Belling in his *Prolegomena* suggests "huc ades atque meum pariter medicare dolorem," and in his *Albius Tibullus: Untersuchung und Text, pariter temptate*. Postgate's suggestion is *pariles medicate*.¹¹⁵

The reading of the MSS (*pariter medicando*) seems syntactically, and, more especially, metrically impossible (i.e. at this period of Latin).¹¹⁵ *Medicande*, involving the slightest change, would mean "you who also need to be cured," and a reference

¹¹¹ "pariter comp." Hiller says.

¹¹² *N. Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.*, 147 (1893), 769 foll.

¹¹³ But note Postgate's objection to *patera* in the *Classical Review*, 9 (1895), 77, and the *Journal of Philology*, 25 (1897), 59.

¹¹⁴ Heyne says: "Wacker Medebach. in Amoen. p. 72 nuper emendare vidimus: 'Aufer et ipse merum, pater, et medicare dolorem.'" Heyne also suggested (though admitting its remoteness from the MS reading): "Aufer et indomitum succo medicante dolorem."

¹¹⁵ See Belling, *Prol.*, 76-7.

to Bacchus' love for Ariadne is suggested.¹¹⁶ But love's pain is to be cured by forgetfulness; does Bacchus, the successful lover, need that sort of remedy? As Belling¹¹⁷ puts it, "jener Ausdruck, der den Gott als gegenwärtig *liebeskrank*, als unglücklich Liebenden vorstellt, (ist) unerträglich schief." The love affair with Ariadne (see verses 39 foll. of this elegy) is past; he is therefore not now *medicandus*. Moreover it is not an adventure in which Bacchus' situation as represented by Lygdamus is in any wise comparable with his own.

The conjectures which introduce the word *patera* are unhappy; the *patera*¹¹⁵ is the libation bowl, not the cup the lover will use to drain draughts of healing for his love.

I have therefore suggested for *medicando*, *medica arte*. The expression appears in the Corpus Tibullianum, II, 3, 14:

quidquid erat *medicae* vicerat *artis* amor.

Medicus appears also in III, 10 (IV, 4), 3-4:

crede mihi, *propera*: nec te iam, Phoebe, pigebit
formosae *medicas* applicuisse manus.

The appropriateness of the expression is apparent, *pariter* looking forward to the next verse, as others have noted. "Do thou even thyself remove in like wise my pain by thy healing skill; often has love perished, conquered by thy gift." For similarities in expression one may compare:

Propertius III, 17, 3-4¹¹⁸ tu potes *insanae* *Veneris* *compescere* *fastus*,
curarumque tuo fit *medicina* mero.

Tibullus I, 2, 1 adde merum vinoque novos *compesce* dolores.

Ovid *Rem. Am.* 75-7¹¹⁹ Te precor *incipiens*, adsit tua laurea nobis,
carminis et *medicae*, Phoebe, repertor opis;
tu pariter vati, pariter succurre medenti.

Ovid *Rem. Am.* 131-2 temporis ars *medicina* ferest: data tempore
prosunt,

et data non apto tempore vina nocent.

Ovid *Rem. Am.* 135 nostrae *medicabilis* arti.

¹¹⁶ For a defence of *medicande*, see F. Wilhelm's articles, *N. Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.*, 1893, p. 769, and 1895, p. 775.

¹¹⁷ *Prol.*, p. 76.

¹¹⁸ Cf. also Prop. I, 5, 27-8; II, 1, 57; III, 17, 9-10.

¹¹⁹ Cf. René Pichon, *De sermone amatorio*, etc., Paris, 1902 (sub *medicina, mederi, medicus*).

The change palaeographically from *medica arte* to *medicando*¹²⁰ is not difficult to explain. The ending *-do* is clearly due to the following word, *dolorem*. (The corruption of *-te* to *-do* is also found in Ovid *Her.* IX, 126: *tegente* P; *tegendo* G.) I have noted the following instances in the Corpus Tibullianum where the error in the MS reading may to some extent have been due to the beginning of the following word:¹²¹

	<i>following word</i>
I, 3, 87 <i>at</i> Par; <i>ac</i> A	circa.
I, 7, 13 <i>an</i> ζ; <i>at</i> A	te.
HI, 7 (IV, 1), 78 <i>erroris</i> F; <i>errorum</i> A	miseri.
III, 16, (IV, 10) 6 <i>ne</i> ζ; <i>nec</i> A	cedam.
II, 4, 2 <i>paterna</i> G; <i>paterve</i> A	vale.

The confusion between *arte* and *ante* appears in Tib. II, 1, 24 where for *ante*, ζ read *arte*. In Prop. II, 3, 42, for *in arte* D (the accepted reading), NFV read *in ante*.

The error in the MS reading (if the conjecture be accepted) is in large measure due to an improper division of words, two words being written as one. The following instances of this very mistake appear in the MSS of Tibullus:¹²²

I, 1, 44 <i>si licet</i> ζ; <i>scilicet</i> A Par.	
I, 5, 7 <i>per te</i> G; <i>parce</i> A.	
I, 6, 40 <i>et fluit</i> ζ; <i>effluit</i> A.	
I, 8, 39 <i>iuuant quae</i> V; <i>iuuatque</i> A.	
II, 4, 17 <i>et qualis</i> ζ; <i>equalis</i> A.	
II, 6, 16 <i>si licet</i> ζ; <i>scilicet</i> A.	
III, 1, 15 <i>per vos</i> G; <i>parvos</i> A.	
III, 4, 87 <i>canis anguinea</i> G Cuiacianus Plant. } <i>canis anguina</i> Postgate } ; <i>consanguinea</i> A.	
III, 7 (IV, 1), 70 <i>inter geminae</i> F; { <i>termine</i> A (supra ser. ab al. <i>tergemine</i> , G Cuiacianus. } <i>manu ge</i>).	
III, 7 (IV, 1), 189 <i>ante actos</i> (accepted reading); { <i>anteactos</i> F. <i>accitos</i> V Cuiacianus. <i>accitus</i> A.	
III, 17 (IV, 11), 1 <i>pia cura</i> ζ; <i>placitura</i> A.	

At other times the improper division of words has corrupted the reading by breaking up one word into two. The MSS of Tibullus show the following instances of this sort of corruption:

¹²⁰ A possible order of corruption is: *medica arte*—*medicarte*—*medicante*—*medicando*.

¹²¹ There is no attempt at completeness in this list.

¹²² There is no attempt at completeness in this list.

- I, 4, 29 *deperdit* Par.; *te perdit* A.
 I, 7, 9 *Tarbella* Scaliger; *tua bella* A.
 I, 9, 19 *divitiis* ζ; *O viciis* AV.
 III, 7, (IV, 1), 39 *castrisve* Par. Plant.; *cartis ne* A.
 III, 7 (IV, 1), 73 *more* ζ Plant.; *in ore* A.
 III, 7 (IV, 1), 103 *seiunctim* Salmasius; $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{seu iunctum} \textit{ A Plant.} \\ \textit{seu vinctum} \textit{ Par.} \end{array} \right.$

Finally error is caused by improperly dividing words, even where the number of words employed is not altered, e.g. II, 6, 21, in which *credit aratis* appears in Fr. as *credita ratis*.

It is apparent, then, how numerous the instances are wherein the text of the Corpus Tibullianum has suffered through an improper word-division; the other changes in *medica arte* are easily explainable palaeographically. The expression is moreover in harmony with the elegiac diction and appropriate to the sense of the passage.

III, 12 (IV, 6), 19–20

Proposed reading:

*si iuveni grata est, veniet cum proximus annus,
 hic idem votis mutuus adsit amor.*

MSS:

- sis* F; *si* AVG A (of Lachmann); *sit* G²; *sic* ζ.
iuveni AFVG.
veniet AVG Cuiacianus; *et veniet* ζ; *ac veniet* ζ; *adveniet* G² Plant.
iam vetus O Plant. (where *mutuus* stands in verse 20).
esset O; *adsit* ζ Plant.; *ut sit* G².

The reading of verse 19 is seriously disputed; in verse 20 all editions seen read *adsit* save Scaliger's, which retain *esset*.¹²³ *Vetus* is also generally read;¹²⁴ Prien¹²⁵ however proposed *ratus*, which Baehrens incorporated in his text¹²⁶ and H. Graef¹²⁷ approved. C. M. Francken¹²⁸ is also dissatisfied with *vetus*.

¹²³ Statius—*ut sit*: Baehrens—"fort. extet": Cartault (1909)—*existet* and *vobis* for *votis*.

¹²⁴ As far as I know, no one alters *iam*.

¹²⁵ *Die Symmetrie und Responion der römischen Elegie*, p. 8.

¹²⁶ See also Baehrens' *Tibullische Blätter*, p. 91.

¹²⁷ *Annotationes ad Tibullum* (Particula altera), Memel, 1885.

¹²⁸ *Mnemos. n.s.*, 13 (1885), 185.

It is, however, in the first verse that we find the main difficulties, and so the less unanimity of agreement on the part of scholars. The various important readings are as follows:

- sit iuveni grata, adveniet—Aldus, Sessa, Muretus, Grasser.
 sic iuveni gratum, veniet—Statius, Kraffert (with colon after *gratum*).¹²⁹
 sic iuveni grata, veniet—Scaliger.¹³⁰
 sic iuveni gratis, veniet—Heinsius,¹³¹ Broukhusius, Volpi, Heyne.¹³²
 sit iuveni grata, ac, veniet—Passerat, J. Dousa, Maittaire, Delphin Classics, Voss, Wunderlich, Bach, Golbéry, Hertzberg, L. Doederlein. Heyne also approves of this reading, after changing the order of the preceding distichs.
 sternuit illa: ratum est—Herel (see Heyne's edition).
 sic iuveni placeat: veniet—Huschke.
 si, iuveni grata veniet—Lachmann, Dissen.
 si, iuveni gratae veniet—Lachmann proposed.
 sis iuveni cara—Dissen proposed.
 sis, Iuno, grata { ac } veniet—Gruppe, Prien, Graef. So also, substituting *ut* (Eberz) before *veniet*—Hiller,¹³³ Postgate,¹³⁴ Jurenka.
 diva, veni grata, ut verteret cum—Baehrens.¹³⁵
 sit iuveni grata, et veniet—Vahlen (ed. V), Jacoby.
 sit iuveni gratum: veniet—Mueller.
 si iuveni gratum, veniet—Rigler.
 sis iuveni grata; adveniet—Roszbach.
 sit iuveni grata: veniet—K. P. Schulze.¹³⁶
 sit iuveni grata, ut, veniet—A. Otto.¹³⁷
 sic iuveni gratae, veniet—Belling.¹³⁸
 sic iuveni grato veniet—Ehwald.¹³⁹
 sis iuveni grata ac—Cartault.

¹²⁹ *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung lateinischer Autoren*, III Teil, Aurich, 1883.

¹³⁰ Scaliger: "*grata hoc est gratare.*"

¹³¹ Heinsius: "*gratis iuveni votis adsit Amor iterum anno proxime venturo.*"

¹³² But he was dissatisfied with this reading.

¹³³ In the *Corpus poetarum Latinorum* (1893), he reads: "*sis iuveni grata, ut.*"

¹³⁴ In his *Selections*; in his edition he marks the verse corrupt, suggesting "*fort. grate.*"

¹³⁵ Cf. *Tibullische Blätter*, p. 91.

¹³⁶ *Beiträge zur Erklärung der römischen Elegiker*, Berlin, 1893, p. 22; and *Wochenschrift für Phil.*, 2 (1885), 598. He also thought that perhaps *votis* should be *iunctis*.

¹³⁷ *Zeitschr. f. Gymnasialwesen*, 39 (1885), 225.

¹³⁸ C. M. Francken (*Mnemos. n.s.*, 13, 185) believes that the thought should be to this effect:

sic iuveni gratae, veniet cum proximus annus,
 his palam votis arbiter adsit Amor.

¹³⁹ *Philol.*, 54 (1895), 458-9.

This list, an incomplete one, should perhaps be sufficient to deter one from a fresh attempt, but it shows at any rate that the reading of the distich is not yet settled.

In the reading proposed the word *est* is inserted after *grata*; the text at present is unmetrical, and it is obvious that *est* could readily be dropped, particularly if *si* became altered to *sis* or *sit*, thus demanding the elimination of the following verb.¹⁴⁰ This clause is the protasis of the condition, and the *cum*-clause is a part of the apodosis, i.e., "if she is dear to the youth, then when the next year comes, etc." *Iuveni* is of course Cerinthus, as in verse 8 of this elegy; and the feminine subject of *est* implied in *grata* is the *docta puella* of verse 2, *illa* of verses 5, 10 and 16.

There is, to be sure, no certain instance of *gratus* referring to a person in the Corpus Tibullianum; though it may be that in II, 5, 68 the reading of A (*grata*) is correct, and *Herophile Phoebo grata* would be parallel to this passage. We do find *gratus* with a dependent dative in III, 7 (IV, 1), 8-9, but modifying a non-personal noun: *etiam Phoebo gratissima dona Cres tulit*. But outside of the Corpus Tibullianum the instances are numerous enough:

Ovid *Fast.* III, 467-8 *inter captivas facie praestante puellas
grata nimis Baccho filia regis erat.*

Am. II, 19, 30 *factast, quam fuerat, gratior illa Iovi.*

Fast. III, 495 *vitio tibi gratior ipso est.*

Met. VIII, 771 *Nympha sub hoc ego sum Cereri gratissima ligno.*

Met. XIII, 528 *proles gratissima matri.*

Horace *C.* I, 10, 19-20 *superis deorum gratus (Mercurius) et imis.*

C. III, 9, 1 *donec gratus eram tibi.*

Propertius I, 2, 31 *his tu semper eris nostrae gratissima vitae.*¹⁴¹

In other words, we have that meaning that Pichon refers to when he says, "Ad personas hoc verbum (*gratus*) refertur quae carae sunt amantibus."

¹⁴⁰ Voss says: "In anderen (Handschriften) war *et veniet* verderbt in *est veniet* und *eveniet*," and again: "In den meinigen verschrieb einer 'Si iuveni grata est'; einer 'si iuveni grata est.'" Broukhusius also says: "*grata est unus St.*" According to Heyne, *Guelf. 3* read: "Si iuveni grata est, veniet cum etc." Belling (*Prol.*, p. 70) says: "Soviel ist sicher, dass an der Commissur der Worte *grata* und *veniet* ein Fehler der Überlieferung steckt."

¹⁴¹ Note also *Prop.* I, 12, 7, "*olim gratus eram.*"

The fact that the *cum*-clause is taken as modifying the following wish and not as dependent upon the protasis which it immediately succeeds, may seem unusual, and yet there are several instances of such a use in the *Corpus Tibullianum*. Thus in I, 4, 49-50:

*nec, velit insidiis altas si claudere valles,
dum placeas, umeri retia ferre negent.*

the second clause does not depend upon the first, which, it may incidentally be noted, is a *si*-clause as here. Again, in I, 6, 41-2:

*quisquis et occurret, ne possit crimen habere,
stet procul ante, alia stet procul ante via.*

the *ne*-clause modifies, not the preceding, but the succeeding clause. And I, 8, 65-6:

*dum mihi venturam fingo, quodeumque movetur,
illius credo tunc sonuisse pedes.*

shows the same usage. And the elegy preceding the one under discussion, namely III, 11 (IV, 5) shows something rather similar in verses 5-6:

*iuvat hoc, Cerinthe, quod uror,
si tibi de nobis mutuus ignis adest.*

for the second subordinate clause does not depend upon the clause immediately preceding.

Let us now turn to the meaning of the clause as a whole: "If she is dear to the youth, then, etc." It is, however, clearly felt that the love is reciprocated, or else verse 7:

at tu, sancta, fave, neu quis divellat amantes.

would be inappropriate; and even more convincing is verse 11:

nec possit cupidus vigilans deprendere custos.

Therefore the expression means: "If she is dear to the youth (and she surely is), then, etc." The previous elegy, which has so many correspondences with this one, contains a thought closely parallel to this in verses 9-10:

*mane Geni, cape tura libens votisque faveto,
si modo, cum de me cogitat, ille calet.¹⁴²*

Here *si modo . . . ille calet* is parallel to *si iuveni grata est*; note further that the conclusion to this protasis is in part *votis*

¹⁴² But the expressions of confidence in Cerinthus' love are far stronger in III, 12 (IV, 6).

faveto, as in verse 20 of our passage it is *votis . . . adsit amor*. In other words, it is only if he loves her (and the writer of this elegy feels that he does) that the speaker wishes the prayers granted.

Next stands the clause *veniet cum proximus annus*. As these prayers are offered upon her birthday, clearly this must mean "when her next birthday comes." So also in verse 20 the *vota* are those to be offered up on that next birthday, as Heyne points out: "*Vota versu ultimo intellige, quae puella proximo anno eadem die conceptura est.*" These birthday prayers are frequently alluded to in the *Corpus*: thus II, 2, 9–10 (note also *vota*, v. 17); III, 11 (IV, 5), and in particular v. 9 *votisque faveto*; III, 12 (IV, 6) itself; and I, 7, the birthday poem to Messalla. It is interesting to compare Ovid *Tristia* III, 13, and particularly verse 18:

concipiamque bonas ore favente preces?

as well as Ovid *Tristia* V, 5, in which after the introductory verses the prayer begins in verse 13:

optime Natalis, quamvis procul absumus, opto
candidus huc venias dissimilisque meo, etc.

The expression *votis adsit amor* means, I believe, "may love be present at her (next birthday-) prayers," i.e., "may the love still exist when the prayers are offered up on her next birthday." While there are not a great many instances of *adesse* with its subject non-personal as well as the dative used with it, still a number of them is found.¹⁴³ In most of these, however, the meaning of *adesse* does not appear very different from that of *esse*. But in the following instances the true force of *adesse* is clearly shown:

Virgil *Aen.* X, 547–8 *vimque adfore verbo crediderat.*¹⁴⁴

Ovid *Her.* XIV, 10 *quaeque aderant saeris, (pater) tendat in ora faces.*

Iam vetus appears inappropriate to me, as it did to Prien, Baehrens, and Francken. If the love is "already old," not a hint to that effect is given in the elegies; if, on the other hand, *iam vetus* is taken to mean, as it usually is, "by that time old," what

¹⁴³ See *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, assum*.

¹⁴⁴ Conington, "he thought that his prowess would second his word."

point is there in the addition of these words? What does the prayer gain by having this idea added to it?

The change palaeographically to *mutuus* is much less difficult than it appears at first sight. If in copying, the *m* were separated from the rest of the word, we should have remaining *utuus*. If we place beside each other *utuus* and *uetus*, the close resemblance becomes apparent; both are not only words of five letters, but in fact contain exactly the same letters, with a single exception, arranged in a slightly different order. The *m* remaining by itself would then be expanded into the "Flickwort" *iam*.

The word *mutuus* is a favorite one in this group of elegies; thus in verse 8 of this elegy, we have *mutua vincla*, and in III, 11 (IV, 5) we have in verse 6 *mutuus ignis adest* and in the next verse this very group of words, *mutuus adsit amor*. This very correspondence may be urged as an objection to the proposed reading, but it might be claimed that such an objection would in some measure apply to the substitution of *adsit* for the MS *esset*, which gives us these two words in precisely the same order as in III, 11 (IV, 5). And yet this change is made by practically every editor of the *Corpus Tibullianum*. Moreover, in III, 11 (IV, 5) we have *mutuus ignis adest* followed immediately by *mutuus adsit amor*.

But, aside from this, is not the prayer that the *mutual* love may only last, a frequently recurring one in these elegies? Cf. e.g. III, 10 (IV, 4), 16:

tu modo semper ama: salva puella tibi est.

This fear that Cerinthus' love may not last we find again in III, 17 (IV, 11).

The distich then as a whole would mean: "If she is dear to the youth (and she really is), then at the coming of the next year may this same mutual affection exist when the birthday-prayers are offered up."

III, 14 (IV, 8), 5–6

Proposed reading:

iam, nimium Messalla mei studiose, quiescas:
non tempestivae saepe, propinque, viae.

The reading above is that of the MSS, save that for *non* ζ, AVG read *neu*. *Sepe propinque* is read in compendium in A. The reading given is moreover that of the large majority of the editors, who, however, place a comma after *quiescas*, and remove that after *saepe*. Those who read thus are Muretus, Scaliger, Grasser, Broukhusius, Maittaire, Heyne, Huschke, Golbéry, Lachmann, Dissen, Gruppe, L. Mueller, Haupt-Vahlen, and Belling;¹⁴⁵ of these, however, Heyne, Huschke, and Dissen feel that something is wrong in the pentameter. Heyne proposes *non tempestivam sic properare viam*. Baehrens and Postgate¹⁴⁶ both mark *saepe propinque* as corrupt, though in his *Selections*, Postgate accepts *non . . . saeve propinque* (the conjecture of R. Unger) as a "stop-gap." Baehrens¹⁴⁷ suggested *perge monere* (retaining *neu*), which Hiller¹⁴⁸ accepted and inserted into his text. Jurenka would read: *neu tempestivae saepe moneto viae*.

Rigler, at first accepting *non tempestivae, saeve propinque, viae*, later proposed *non tempestivae, quae procul urbe, viae*. Ayrmann, *Vit. Tib.*, § 82 suggested *non tempestivae simque propinqua viae*. Francken read for *saepe propinque, parce, propinque*.¹⁴⁹ Cartault (1909) proposed *seu tempestivast, sive propinqua via*.¹⁵⁰

In these various readings *viae* is taken either as a genitive

¹⁴⁵ But with no punctuation save a colon after *viae*.

¹⁴⁶ He proposes in the *Journal of Philology*, 25, 64, *semper amice* for *saepe propinque*.

¹⁴⁷ Baehrens thought the following possible: "quiescas Ceu tempestivae, saeve propinque, viae."

¹⁴⁸ In the *Corpus poetarum Latinorum* (1893) it is marked corrupt.

¹⁴⁹ *Mnemos. n.s.*, 13 (1885), 186.

¹⁵⁰ Statius suggested *fugae* for *viae*. Heyne made a second suggestion: "non tempestive saepe propinque tuae." Voss read as the majority of the editors, substituting however *nec* for *non*, and *tempestive* for *tempestivae*. After this paper was in print, I noted the proposal of J. J. Hartman, *Mnemos. n.s.* 39 (1911), 399, *Non tempestiva est, saeve propinque via*.

depending upon *quiescas*,¹⁵¹ or as depending upon *propinque*. Thus Scaliger: "Qui saepe te accingis itineri intempestivo."

The reading suggested by me follows the MS reading, save in substituting *non* for *neu*. A colon is, however, placed after *quiescas*, and by putting a comma both before and after *propinque*, *saepe* is completely separated from it in construction. The verse *non tempestivae saepe, propinque, viae* would then be translated: "Journeys are often unseasonable, kinsman."

The only other instances of *quiescere* in the Corpus Tibullianum are II, 4, 49, and II, 6, 30, and in neither of these do we have a noun used directly with it or an infinitive, but the use in each case parallels that proposed:

- II, 4, 49 et 'bene' discedens dicet 'placideque quiescas.'
II, 6, 30 sic bene sub tenera parva quiescat humo.

The ellipsis of *sunt* which has been assumed is quite in accord with usages in the Corpus Tibullianum. In discussing the reading of I, 5, 76 (page 182), the instances of ellipses of *esse* in the Corpus Tibullianum are classified under four heads, of which the third "comprises those cases wherein a predicate noun or adjective occurs," which is the condition we have in this verse. The following instances fell under this head:

- I, 1, 75 hic ego dux milesque bonus.
I, 3, 43 non fixus in agris,
qui regeret certis finibus arva, lapis.
I, 7 9 foll. Tarbella Pyrene
testis et Oceani litora Santonici,
testis Arar Rhodanusque celer magnusque Garunna,
Carnutis et flavi caerulea lympha Liger.
I, 10, 26 (text dubious) hostiaque e plena rustica porcus hara.
I, 10, 63 quater ille beatus
quo tenera irato flere puella potest.
II, 1, 79 a miseri, quos hic graviter deus urget!
II, 1, 80 at ille
felix, cui placidus leniter adflat Amor.
II, 5, 107 ars bona!
III, 2, 5 non ego firmus in hoc.
III, 4, 51-2 tantum cara tibi quantum nec filia matri,
quantum nec cupido bella puella viro.
III, 4, 94 isque pater, quo non alter amabilior.

¹⁵¹ Postgate, *Selections*: "*viae* gen. after *quiescas*. 'cease from unreasonable travel,' i.e., give up the journey, an imitation of the Greek construction."

twenty-one appear in exactly the position *saepe* has here, i.e., immediately following the diaeresis in the pentameter, and thirty-one in all other possible positions.

Moreover I have come upon two cases where *saepe* and *propinquus* stand next to each other, and in neither case does *saepe* modify *propinquus*:

Propertius II, 6, 7 quin etiam falsos fingis tibi saepe propinquos.

Martial IX, 54, 11-12 (which is more interesting because the words appear in the same position in the pentameter as in the verse under consideration):

mittimus ergo tibi parvae minusecula chortis.
qualia si recipis, saepe propinquus eris.

As to the exact relationship that Messalla bore to Sulpicia, that cannot of course be determined with certainty, but Haupt's¹⁵⁴ suggestion that Valeria, the sister of M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus (the Messalla of this elegy), who married Servius Sulpicius,¹⁵⁵ was the mother of Sulpicia, seems likely.

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¹⁵⁴ Haupt, *Opuscula*, iii, 502-3, number lxii, which is the same as *Hermes*, 5 (1871), 32-4.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. III, 16 (IV, 10), 4.

Quat.	Folio	Page	Quat.	Folio	Page	
I	8	15	IV	62	327-351 + 1	
		16			382-403 + 4	
II	9	17	32	63	352-376 + 1	
		18		64	429-453 + 1	
	10	19	33	65	454-477 + 1	
		20		66	478-502 + 1	
	11	21	34	67	503-527 + 1	
		22		68	528-553	
	12	23	35	69	554-579	
		24		70	580-603 + 2	
	13	25	36	71	604-629	
		26		72	630-654 + 1	
	14	27	37	73	655-680	
		28		74	681-706	
15	29	38	75	707-731 + 1		
	30		76	732-756 + 1		
16	31	39	77	757-782		
	32		78	783-806 + 2		
III	17	33	40	79	807-832	
		34		80	833-856 + 2	
	18	35	VI	41	81	857-881 + 1
		36		82	882-907	
	19	37	42	83	908-933	
		38		84	934-959	
	20	39	43	85	960-985	
		40		86	986-1011	
	21	41	44	87	1012-1037	
				88	1038-1061 + 2	
			45	89	1062-1087	
				90	1088-1112 + 1	
22	43	46	91	1113-1138		
	44		92	1139-1163 + 1		
23	45	47	93	1164-1174 + 2		
	46		94	III, 1-26		
24	47	48	95	27-51 + 1		
	48		96	52-77		
IV	25	49	VII	49	97	78-102 + 1
		50			98	103-128
	26	51	50	99	129-153	
		52		100	154-179	
	27	53	51	101	180-204	
		54		102	205-229	
	28	55	52	103	230-254 + 1	
		56		104	255-279 + 1	
	29	57	53	105	280-304 + 1	
		58		106	305-330	
	30	59	54	107	331-355 + 1	
		60		108	356-379 + 2	
31	61	55	109	380-405		
			110	406-430 + 1		
		56	111	431-453 + 1		

Quat.	Folio	Page	Quat.	Folio	Page
VII		112		81	161 549-573 + 1
VIII	57	113			162 574-598 + 1
		114		82	163 599-623 + 1
	58	115			164 624-648 + 1
		116		83	165 649-673 + 1
	59	117			166 674-699
		118		84	167 700-724 + 1
	60	119			168 725-750
		120		85	169 751-776
	61	121			170 777-801 + 1
		122		86	171 802-827
	62	123			172 828-852 + 1
		124		87	173 853-877 + 1
	63	125			174 878-903
		126		88	175 904-928 + 1
	64	127			176 929-954
		128	XII	89	177 955-979 + 1
IX	65	129			178 980-1005
		130		90	179 1006-1030 + 1
	66	131			180 1031-1056
		132		91	181 1057-1082
	67	133			182 1083-1108
		134		92	183 1109-1134
	68	135			184 1135-1160
		136		93	185 1161-1186
	69	137			186 1187-1212
		138		94	187 1213-1238
	70	139			188 1239-1264
		140		95	189 1265-1287 +
	71	141			inscript.
		142			190 vacant
	72	143		96	191 Capit. of V
		144			192 V 1-26
X	73	145	XIII	97	193 27-52
		146			194 53-75 + 3
	74	147		98	195 76-99 + 1
		148			196 100-125
				99	197 126-149 + 2
	75	149			198 150-175
		150		100	199 176-200 + 1
		151			200 201-226
	76	152		101	201 227-250 + 2
		153			202 251-274 + 2
	77	154		102	203 275-298 + 2
		155			204 299-323 + 1
	78	156		103	205 324-348 + 1
		157			206 349-373 + 1
	79	158		104	207 374-397 + 2
		159			208 398-422 + 1
	80	160			

Quat.	Folio	Page	Quat.	Folio	Page	
XIV	105	209	XVII	129	257	
		210			258	181-205 + 1
		211			259	206-229 + 2
		212		130	260	230-254 + 1
		213			261	255-280
		214		131	262	281-305 + 1
		215			263	306-331
		216		108	264	333-356 + 1
		217			265	357-382
		218		109	266	383-408
		219			267	409-434
		220		110	268	435-459 + 1
		221			269	460-485
		222		111	270	486-509 + 1
	XV	112		223	135	271
		224		272	535-559 + 1	
		225	136	273	560-585	
		226		274	586-610 + 1	
		227	XVIII	275	611-636	
		228		276	637-661 + 1	
		229		277	662-687	
		230	139	278	688-712 + 1	
		231		279	713-737 + 1	
		232	140	280	738-761 + 2	
		233		281	762-787	
		234	141	282	788-813	
		235		283	814-839	
		236	142	284	Lost	
XVI		119	237	143	285	840-863 + 2
		238		286	864-887 + 2	
		239	144	287	888-913	
		240		288	914-937 + 1	
		241	XIX	289	938-964	
		242		290	965-991	
		243	146	291	992-1016	
		244		292	1017-1042	
		245	147	293	1043-1068	
		246		294	1069-1093 + 1	
		247	148	295	1094-1119	
		248		296	1120-1144 + 1	
		249	149	297	1145-1170	
				298	1171-1196	
				299	1197-1222	
	250	150	300	1223-1248		
	251		301	1249-1274		
	252	151	302	1275-1286 +		
	253			inscript.		
	254	152	303	vacant		
	255		304	vacant		
	256					

This reconstruction agrees with Lachmann's notes except for what he says on VI 1225 and 1273. He makes the page which contained VI 1223-1248 the 48th of Book VI; I make it the 49th; then page 301, leaf 151, the 50th page of Book VI he makes the 49th. Consequently page 302 was the last written page and the 152nd leaf was vacant on both sides, filling out the last quire, thus making two vacant pages at the end instead of one. It may be that I have still misunderstood the haughty scholar and have failed to make the calculation correctly; but I am supported by Polle, *De Artis Vocab. Lucret.*, page 66, who noted the same discrepancy. So far as I know, Polle's correction, made as long ago as 1866, has not been disputed, although it has aroused no comment.

In the photographic reproduction of the Oblongus manuscript, issued by Sijthoff at Leyden in 1908, there is a preface by M. Chatelain, who gives on page vi a reconstruction of the archetype. This reconstruction differs from the one given above in the following details:

- Q. I, fol. 2-8, I 1-374 + 16 titles.
- Q. II, fol. 9-16, 379-785 + 8 titles.
- Q. V, fol. 33-40, II 454-858 + 11 titles.
- Q. VI, fol. 41-48, 859-III 75 + 8 titles.
- Q. VII, fol. 49-56, III 76-479 + 12 titles.
- Q. VIII, fol. 57-64, 480-891 + 4 titles.
- Q. IX, fol. 65-72, 882-IV 145 + titles.
- Q. X, fol. 73-80, IV 146-526 + titles.
- Q. XI, fol. 81-88, 549-954 + titles.
- Q. XIII, fol. 97-104, V 27-426 + 20 titles.
- Q. XIV, fol. 105-112, V 427-827 + 15 titles.
- Q. XVI, fol. 121-128, V 1239-VI 172 + titles.
- Q. XVII, fol. 129-136, 173-578 + 10 titles.
- Q. XVIII, fol. 137-144, 579-984 + 13 titles.
- Q. XIX, fol. 145-150, 985-1286.

This discrepancy is not easy to explain. One cause, at least, is the uncertainty of the number of titles, and there may be misprints. Thus, in the first quire, following Lachmann, I count 14 titles, Chatelain 16, and in several cases he merely says "cum titulis" without giving the exact number of them. Whether he wished to reconstruct the archetype by Lachmann's rules is not plain: after giving his scheme he adds "sic archetypum Lach-

manni conceptum, fama universali concelebratum, referre debuimus.”

Lachmann's conception has met with general approval, although it must be inferred from silence rather than from express statements. But in slight details Goebel and Susemihl have differed, as may be learned from Polle's article in *Philologus*, 25, 529, and Susemihl's in the same journal, 29, 429. Goebel would have no lacuna after I 1013, and page 33 he would not have empty (I make 42 the empty page), putting 786–811 on that page; then on page 39 [38] Lachmann, 915–939 is for Goebel 941–965; page 41 [40] 965–990 L.—992–1013 G.; finally, page 46, 1094–1117 L.—1117 G. Again, he would have page 137 vacant, 138, index, 139, IV 1–25, and 143, 102–126. Susemihl would have four vacant lines after I, 1013 and 23 empty ones on the next page after I 1014, and then page 41 [43] beginning with I 1017. Munro, vol. 1, page 28, suggests that one leaf was lost after IV 126; IV and V have an index prefixed, and one page was left blank before the index of IV. Pages 41 and 143 are the most vulnerable of Lachmann's hypothesis.

Finally, Woltjer, in *Jahrb.* 123 (1881), 769 sq., endeavored to reconstruct a new archetype with pages of double columns of 13 lines each. This reconstruction was criticized by Brieger in the same journal, 127, 553 sq., and has since received no notice.

The archetype of Lachmann confirms and also refutes some instances of transposition. Thus I 326 is placed after 327 by Brieger; but 326 came at the bottom of page 14, and 327 at the top of page 15, and for a like reason the transposition of II 453 and 454 is improbable, as 453 was at the foot of page 64 and 454 at the top of 65. II 655–659 are transferred by some to follow 651, but 655 following were at the head of page 73. II 680 was the last line of page 73 and is rightly transferred to follow 659. III 430, at the foot of page 110, Lachmann rejected. III 763 was at the foot of page 123; it is rejected as a gloss. IV 49–50, at the foot of page 139, are generally rejected. IV 347 was at the foot of page 152, and Giussani transfers both 346 and 347 to follow 331. IV 801 was at the foot of page 170; many editors reject 799, 800, 801; see the note in my edition. V 26 was the last line on page 192; it is transferred with 27 to follow 36 by

Kannengiesser; 27 was at the top of page 193. Line 175 was at the foot of page 198; many editors read in the order 175-176-174; I make 176 the top line of page 199. V 801 was at the foot of page 223; 801-4 were bracketed by Giussani. VI 228-9 are compressed into one verse by Lachmann; Gneisse would reject both, and Bentley, 228; line 229 was at the foot of page 258. VI 254 was at the foot of page 259; Brieger rejects 253-4, Neumann and Gneisse 251-4. VI 434-5 were rejected by Lotze; 434 was at the top of page 266. VI 509 was at the foot of page 269 and yet *viventi* of OQ is repeated from 510 at the top of page 270. This is one of many instances that show that the Lachmannian archetype is itself a copy. VI 636 was at the foot of page 274; Bockemueller rejected 635-638. The number of instances where a word in the last line is corrupt is so great that I have made no attempt to record the cases.

Turning now to the evidence that may be inferred from the lines at the top of the page, the following changes are supported or weakened. I 102 was at the top of page 6; 102-135 are bracketed by Bockemueller as a later addition. I 454, so frequently rejected, came at the top of page 20. 505, rejected by Tohte, was at the top of page 22. 531 was at the top of page 23, and is transferred in brackets by Brieger to follow 537; others place it elsewhere or reject it. II 478-9 were rejected by Gneisse; they were at the top of page 66. Lines 655-9 were at the top of page 73; they are placed after 651 or bracketed. After 681, the top line of page 74, a lacuna is postulated. IV 127-8 were at the head of page 144; Winckelmann and Brieger put them after a lacuna following 41. 299 began page 151; Brieger brackets 299-363. V 1006 was at the head of page 232, and is rejected by many editors. 1315 was rejected by Faber and Lachmann; it stood at the head of page 244. 1341 was at the top of page 245; it was rejected with others by Munro and Giussani and by other scholars who make other changes. VI 383-5 are rejected by Brieger; they stood at the head of page 265. 535 was at the head of page 271; 535-556 were transferred by Brieger and Kannengiesser to follow 638. 1017-1021 stood at the top of page 292; Giussani transfers them to follow 1032. The junction of the quires justifies no suspicion whatever of dislocation at such points.

Thus the use of the Archetype as a critical aid is extremely disappointing. Considering the many changes in the order of verses which have been adopted or proposed, the alternative forces itself that either the archetype is merely the successor of another which would explain such undoubted cases as the repetition of *saepe quiete* in IV 990 and 999 on page 178, or the first mistake in the poem—the displacement of line 14 of Book I; or that most of the proposed transfers are unjustified. I fear that the famous archetype survives merely as an example of Lachmann's ingenuity and clear vision and is now hardly more than an intellectual curiosity. Chatelain, page vii, gives little weight to it: "testimonium sollummodo certa sex habemus de archetypi paginis 26 versus continentibus. At de numero foliorum, de paginis vacuis nihil concludere decet. . . . itaque si quis quaesierit quot paginas vel paginarum partes in archetypo sine scriptura scribae reliquerint, vanae quaestioni incumbat ac tempus perdat" because of the increase of paleographical knowledge since Lachmann's day.

L. Duvau in the *Revue de Philologie*, 12 (1888), 30, gives many examples of corruptions in O which are frequent in minuscules, and so was of the opinion that O was copied from a manuscript that was itself copied from a capital manuscript. Chatelain thinks (page xi) that this second archetype may have been one containing 27 lines on the page. I have reconstructed such an archetype and it works out to 290 pages. Very frequently the end of a page coincides with a page of 15 lines, and occasionally with that of one of 26. I 470 of the 27-line archetype comes at the foot of page 18, and Polle rejects 469–470. Page 22 contained I 551–575; Brieger transfers 551–576 to follow 583. 550, at the foot of page 21, with 548–9 are transferred by Bockemueller to follow 564. II 105 came at the foot of page 48; after it Brieger postulates a lacuna. 183 at the foot of page 51 was rejected by Gneisse. 342 was at the foot of page 57; the verse is variously treated. 600 was at the foot of page 67; most editors postulate a lacuna before 601. 680 was at the foot of page 70; it was also at the foot of page 73 of the 26-line archetype. III 159 was at the foot of page 95; there is a lacuna at the end of the verse in OQ. III 633 was at the foot of page 113; *auditum* there is

thought to be corrupt. 634–669 were bracketed by Brieger; 634 was at the top of page 114. 690 was at the foot of page 115; 690–4 were transferred by many editors. 955 was at the foot of page 125; it is transferred to follow 951. V 210 was at the top of page 193, which began a new quire; a lacuna is postulated by some before 210. 573 was at the foot of page 205; it is transferred generally to follow 569. 574, at the top of page 206, is omitted by all. V 1396 was at the foot of page 236; 1392–6 were rejected by some. VI 317 was at the foot of page 251; 317–8 are bracketed by Giusanni. 502, at the foot of page 258, was rejected by Lambinus. 608 was at the top of page 263; 608–38 are variously treated and Giussani infers a lacuna after 607; early editors supplied a verse. 635 was at the top of page 264; 635–8 are rejected by Boeckemueller. 1247 was at the foot of page 288; the line is variously treated.

Thus little is gained for textual criticism by the proposed arrangement. The number of cases explainable by such a conception of the archetype is so small in comparison with the number of accepted transfers that the result is futile. Nothing at all is gained for the problems of Book IV, where help is most needed. The two passages—II 484 sq. and VI 79—which led Chatelain to suggest a page of 27 lines do not work out as beginning pages; page 63 began with II 471 and page 242 with VI 55.

Again, starting from the inversion of I 14 and 15 as a possible indication that the original archetype had 15 lines to the page like the Vatican of Cicero's *Republic*, I endeavored to reconstruct such an archetype, but the attempt was fruitless. I mention this that no one may similarly waste his effort.

In conclusion I feel that all attempts to solve critical difficulties in the poem by appealing either to the Lachmannian archetype or to any other will prove unavailing. The problems must be approached in other ways and arguments must rest on logical principles, and not on the hypothetical mechanical arrangement of lines and pages. Occasionally the 26-line archetype will confirm changes which would be made in every case on other grounds. Lucretian scholars have been wise in generally neglecting the archetype as an effective instrument of criticism.

Transmitted June 28, 1913.

CORRUPTION IN THE MANUSCRIPTS OF
LUCRETIIUS

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL

In preparing a new recension of the text of Lucretius the writer has made the following collection of variants to aid in testing proposed conjectures; and the lists, it is hoped, may be of use to scholars.

In making up the lists the writer has used the reproductions of the two Leyden manuscripts published by Sijthoff in 1908 and 1913, and he has endeavored to note the variations from his own edition of 1907. Occasionally groups of letters, and even words, have been entered as groups and also analyzed into the separate letters of the group. An attempt has been made at completeness, yet perfection in such a task is well nigh impossible.

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| a for ab, ii 648 | a for i, ii 283, 449, 708, 778, 786; |
| a for ai, <i>passim</i> | iii 2, 6, 212, 311, 436, 566, 640, |
| a for c, ii 645 | 835; iv 437, 1124; v 2, 22, 502, |
| a for ci, ii 345 | 1212, 1248, 1253; vi 7, 19, 59, |
| a for e, i 141, 269, 403, 542, 626, | 180, 777, 913, 1079, 1278 |
| 959, 982, 1058; ii 29, 52, 278, | a for im, i 866 |
| 376, 452, 535, 559, 678, 719, | a for n, vi 428 |
| 781; iii 39, 58, 81, 156, 431, | a for o, i 1025, 1036, 1038; ii 486, |
| 766, 804, 847, 857, 908; iv 357, | 491, 503, 530, 929, 954, 1139; |
| 444, 479, 482, 545, 1034, 1275; | iii 15, 33, 418; iv 79, 107, 118, |
| v 236, 491, 718, 888, 1019, 1067, | 1240; v 239, 756, 1065, 1090, |
| 1142, 1301, 1319, 1374, 1392; | 1111; vi 28, 205, 227, 641, 1069, |
| vi 86, 192, 254, 269, 297, 324, | 1109, 1115, 1251 |
| 403, 639, 718, 764, 897, 908, 940, | a for q, v 1259 |
| 942, 1059, 1064, 1076 | a for r, i 570, 919 |
| a for et, iii 58 | a for s, v 31 |

- a for u*, i 741; ii 134, 1056, 1066;
 iii 403, 748, 1031; iv 218, 345,
 393, 495, 609, 698, 805; v 35,
 839, 1336; vi 396, 455, 849,
 1150
a for um, ii 112; vi 817
a for us, i 718
a for x, i 785; ii 791, 932; iii 582,
 596; vi 385
a inserted, i 452; ii 147, 314, 555,
 561, 706, 860, 1005, 1127; iii 18,
 77, 389, 429, 437, 479, 663, 744,
 857, 858; iv 17, 309, 388, 815,
 949; v 4, 148, 224, 307, 545,
 627, 683, 950, 1179, 1277, 1425;
 vi 144, 237, 285, 367, 461, 604,
 744, 772, 923
a omitted, i 176, 491, 520, 542,
 974; ii 28, 101, 107, 187, 337,
 342, 483, 547, 555, 611, 626, 691,
 850, 861, 982; iii 32, 168, 255,
 404, 470, 567, 665, 766, 775,
 945; iv 309, 324, 341, 486, 803,
 852, 877, 1063, 1152; v 26, 79,
 108, 500, 1033, 1172, 1183, 1285,
 1316; vi 4, 102, 309, 380, 537,
 563, 662, 690, 804, 862, 888,
 898, 925, 957, 972, 973, 985, 991,
 1027, 1049, 1063, 1134, 1217
abs inserted, i 410
ac omitted, v 241
ac for hanc, v, 747
ac for m, vi 10
ad for et, iv 455
ad for per, ii 459
ad inserted, i 84
ad omitted, i 555; iv 804, 1180
adhaeret omitted, iii 557
ae for a, i 694; iv 86; vi 1119
ae for e, i 542 and *passim*
ae for ea, ii 131; v 193; vi 402
ae for i, iv 1034; v 560; vi 641,
 1006
ae for ie, i 191
ae for ii, v 531
ae for o, v 1046; vi 460
ae for od, ii 586
ae for p, ii 938
ae omitted, v 537; vi 749
aequa omitted, iv 51
aequor omitted, vi 892
aerius for aetherius, iii 1044
aes omitted, v 1241, 1273; vi 1079
aestate omitted, vi 715
aetere for aequore, iii 784
aether omitted, ii 1115
aetherias for aérias, v 501
ai inserted, ii 832
ai omitted, vi 465
al for n, i 27
aliam inserted, i 703
aliis omitted, iv 653; v 1010
alius inserted, vi 1158
alta for auras, iii 456
altantur for halantur, iv 864
am omitted, iv 1180
am for ens, ii 529
am for i, iv 40
amnes for magnis, i 412
an for ab, v 175
an inserted, vi 777, 1158
animas repeated, iii 665
animumque sagacem, omitted, i 50
annullo, anullo, iii 868
ante omitted, iii 538
ap inserted, vi 288
ar for ra, iv 517
ar omitted, iii 78, 576
arbusta for armenta, ii 343
ardes for ad res, vi 938
as omitted, iii 227
asit omitted, iv 1169
at inserted, vi 322
at omitted, iv 960; vi 1136, 1152
ater for aer, iv 320
atque revisit for oblivia quaerit, iii
 1066
atur for mur, iv 456
au inserted, iv 309
au for o, iii 835
au for u, iii 764; iv 81
aucta for apta, v 555
auditum for haud igitur, iii 633
aurget for urget, i 282
aut for ante, iv 845
aut for at, i 366
aut omitted, iv 327

- b for d*, i 286, 668, 682, 995; iii 132; iv 468, 537, 834; v 122, 1110; vi 878
b for du, iv 968
b for e, iii 482
b for m, ii 343
b for o, ii 835
b for p, iii 179, 1041; iv 952; v 1234; vi 399
b for t, ii 920; iii 108
b for u, ii 216, 265; iii 6, 259, 902, 1082; iv 38, 483, 778, 929; v 778, 1019, 1085; vi 390, 974
b inserted, ii 648, 1000; vi 1178
b omitted, ii 99; iii 545; iv 543, 1053, 1247; v 853; vi 306, 921, 925
bd for lp, vi 221
bellis for verbis, i 824
bi inserted, iv 514
bi omitted, i 758; ii 1028; iii 183; v 1142; vi 153
bu inserted, i 853; v 1330
bu omitted, v 1205
bus for asint, ii 919
bus for is, i 198; v 11, 1330
bus for rum, i 1028
bus for s, iii 417

e for b, vi 974
e for d, v 577, 1141, 1252; vi 92
e for e, iii 513; v 700; vi 1217
e for f, i 489; vi 296
e for g, ii 291, 805; iii 628; iv 53, 546, 681, 1083, 1234; v 1070, 1139; vi 658, 922
e for gu, iv 1137
e for n, i 718; iii 760
e for p, i 984; v 889; vi 151, 1132
e for q, iii 886; vi 1205
e for qu, ii 549; iii 223, 1029; iv 873; vi 526, 529, 1262
e for r, ii 547; iii 59
e for s, iii 444; iv 1244; v 934; vi 176
e for t, ii 373, 1004, 1038; iii 796; iv 294, 493, 727, 822, 1102; v 39, 399, 1115, 1118, 1391; vi 162, 858, 972, 1182
e for te, v 91

e for u, v 1256; vi 127
e inserted, i 968; ii 15, 369, 927, 1150, 1169; iii 223, 573, 1044; iv 53, 411, 415, 539, 641, 1110, 1239, 1280, 1340; v 305, 1098; vi 142, 334, 458, 843, 858
e omitted, i 168, 480, 682, 787; ii 141, 449, 521, 585, 651, 791, 813, 840, 844, 895, 953, 975, 1058; iii 71, 266, 358, 764, 985; iv 79, 619, 769, 790, 834, 952, 971, 1062, 1123, 1168, 1264, 1268; v 531, 622, 1229; vi 88, 315, 334, 458, 484, 486, 843, 858, 1246

ea for ac, iv 1026
ea inserted, vi 1033
ea omitted, vi 468
caeli omitted, ii 210
caligini for terribili, vi 852
cat omitted, iii 871
causa for casu, i 741
ce inserted, ii 158; iv 72
ce omitted, v 1173
cellat for vomit, vi 447
cer omitted, iv 353
ch for e, iv 981; v 295
chacinnant for cachinnant, iv 1176
ci for inc, vi 977
ci inserted, v 784; vi 780
ci omitted, iii 458; v 381; vi 279
cibus omitted, ii 1147
cir omitted, v 784
com for quom, ii 194
con inserted, i 395; vi 124
con for cum, iv 795
con for de, ii 962
con for ef, i 70
condam for quondam, vi 109
copore for tempore, i 388
cor inserted, iii 1073
corpora for caerula, iv 419
cortus for pontus, i 271
cquam omitted, i 748
cra inserted, ii 1117
crea inserted, ii 1117
credunt for crerint, v 782
cretum for circum, iii 403
et for b, iii 321
ctus for tant, iv 77
cu omitted, ii 1101

- eu for qua*, vi 486
culvias for caulas, iii 255
cum inserted, iii 738
cum omitted, ii 85; iii 411, 854
eum for per, ii 217
eum for quam, iv 1203; vi 426
eum for tum, i 492
- d for b*, ii 891; iii 644; iv 378; v 1003, 1097, 1141; vi 71, 621
d for c, i 168, 215, 289, 490; ii 131; iv 431; v 264, 304
d for el, vi 728
d for g, iv 8
d for i, v 38
d for l, iv 660
d for n, i 971; ii 373; v 1129
d for p, iii 462; iv 357; v 747; vi 503, 1262
d for qu, iii 850
d for r, ii 1102; vi 453
d for s, i 846; ii 225
d for t, i 237, 469, 977; ii 74, 357, 388, 423, 682, 881, 919, 925, 1017, 1073, 1128; iii 25, 29, 121, 147, 191, 198, 284, 317, 347, 356, 417, 536, 640, 654, 808, 1068, 1083, 1090, 1137; iv 51, 473, 997, 1007; v 245, 353, 533, 639, 765, 810, 884, 1120, 1427, 1429; vi 322, 502, 593, 619, 703, 857, 897, 1022, 1059, 1171
d for u, ii 1172
d inserted, i 102, 780, 835; ii 366, 372, 430, 471, 933, 1080; iii 750; iv 962; v 273, 793, 914; vi 26, 473
d omitted, i 59, 96, 228, 270, 393, 711, 1011; ii 125, 430, 585, 1006; iii 285, 902; iv 583, 968, 992, 1238; v 53, 66, 440, 518, 747, 780, 1213; vi 482, 608, 769, 981, 1089
da for be, vi 272
da omitted, v 971
dam for ardor, i 777
darent motus, etc., omitted, i 1023
dd for ll, iv 761
de for dif, iv 202
de for e, i 835
- de for sed*, i 459
de inserted, i 560; vi 539
de omitted, ii 104, 205, 1087; iii 618, 960; vi 1225, 1230; v 1291; vi 638
de re omitted, vi 768
del for laed, ii 429
denique for neque, i 1071
di for ntur, ii 168
di omitted, iii 881; iv 314; v 554; vi 1167
dir for tur, ii 78
dis inserted, iv 104
dis omitted, i 651
diu omitted, vi 1160
do for od, ii 681
domorum omitted, iv 612
du for ri, v 782
dum omitted, vi 555
dupuis for ut lapis, vi 550
- e for a*, i 475, 777, 981; ii 43, 234, 397, 501, 554, 654, 664, 694, 724, 758, 895, 964, 965, 994, 1082, 1101, 1135; iii 63, 94, 98, 103, 253, 300, 304, 481, 539, 544, 620, 723, 730, 736, 760, 826, 849, 917, 948, 958, 1034, 1050, 1084; iv 72, 395, 429, 498, 532, 590, 659, 844, 1090, 1141, 1182, 1270; v 131, 481, 580, 591, 648, 925, 938, 977, 1184, 1221, 1226; vi 72, 118, 123, 483, 574, 747, 767, 808, 900, 925, 972, 991, 1124, 1148, 1171, 1199, 1251, 1261
e for ae, iii 658; vi 868, 876, 896 and *passim*
e far ai, i 84, 212, 453
e for as, iii 650; vi 586
e for b, v 1008
e for c, ii 920; iv 1194; v 885; vi 498
e for de, v 53, 437 (cf. *d omitted*)
e for f, ii 41; iv 733
e for i, i 33, 95, 209, 256, 412, 527, 539, 562, 590, 591, 619, 660, 744, 747, 857, 886, 900, 978, 1034, 1044, 1071, 1105, 1106; ii 86, 93, 153, 160, 206, 268, 400, 450,

- 468, 499, 559, 623, 685, 717, 730, 734, 742, 850, 924, 932, 1025, 1136; iii 20, 43, 172, 173, 210, 222, 239, 289, 484, 531, 547, 571, 612, 624, 678, 715, 750, 910, 919, 1084; iv 127, 240, 410, 411, 475, 498, 502, 509, 542, 577, 581, 588, 622, 631, 741, 822, 915, 959, 1026, 1033, 1138, 1150, 1188, 1263; v 45, 211, 216, 418, 433, 511, 533, 599, 609, 690, 716, 721, 743, 949, 1004, 1020, 1052, 1130, 1399, 1410, 1415, 1453; vi 2, 66, 87, 126, 145, 207, 233, 315, 648, 663, 694, 696, 747, 774, 775, 877, 889, 899, 987, 1000, 1126, 1143, 1189, 1195, 1271
- e for in, iv 710
- e for is, i 473; ii 382, 384; iii 72
- e for it, iv 545
- e for l, v 651
- e for o, i 282, 777; ii 164; iii 168, 871; iv 377, 545, 581, 1008, 1124; v 71, 91, 675, 723, 906, 997; vi 125, 237, 890, 1155
- e for oiqu, vi 389
- e for qu, iv 116
- e for que, vi 515
- e for ra, iii 133
- e for s, ii 291; v 825
- e for t, iii 727; iv 611; v 1241; vi 475
- e for u, i 382, 772, 806; ii 26, 820; iii 113, 304, 626, 809; iv 14, 219, 393, 418, 992, 1035, 1198; v 485, 839, 854, 1032, 1084, 1166, 1266; vi 951, 1123
- e for ue, vi 74
- e for uf, iv 427
- e for um, i 404; ii 665
- e for us, ii 716
- e inserted, i 78, 191, 577, 918; iii 200, 332, 458, 522, 559, 890, 947, 1035, 1078; iv 94, 104, 291, 341, 495; v 131, 365, 617, 959, 1288, 1393, 1441; vi 44, 115, 771, 833, 912
- e omitted, i 111, 126, 170, 217, 466, 500, 669, 862, 996, 1077, 1091; ii 41, 56, 264, 437, 1023, 1097, 1160; iii 101, 176, 224, 309, 521, 586, 632, 978, 1001; iv 90, 91, 94, 157, 227, 257, 323, 325, 548, 810, 962, 995; v 447, 537, 632, 698, 716, 782, 802, 833, 868, 934, 935, 1038, 1110, 1208, 1267, 1278, 1280, 1393, 1418, 1441; vi 12, 77, 102, 149, 201, 230, 273, 444, 476, 701, 723, 747, 825, 841, 907, 931, 956, 983, 1228
- ea for ae, ii 182; v 684
- ea for eo, v 1167
- ea for i, v 88
- ea for ue, i 818
- ea inserted, ii 854
- ea omitted, iv 101
- ec inserted, vi 272
- ee for u, vi 206
- e est for umst, iv 121
- efficiat for effugiat, i 852
- em for i, vi 1143
- em for is, i 555; v 61
- en for au, iv 710
- en for is, v 61
- en for ue iii 6
- en inserted, iii 764
- en omitted, ii 62; iii 735
- ena inserted, iii 594
- enim for et in, iii 792
- eo for i, i 887
- eo for oe, iv 220
- eo for re iv 43, 101
- epicuri for equom ui, ii 42
- eque for usque, iii 586
- er for il, iv 133
- er for re, v 1116
- er inserted, iii 272, 400, 1088; v 301; vi 70
- er omitted, i 710; ii 665, 804; vi 246, 788
- ergo for enim, iii 702
- es for i, iii 222
- es omitted, ii 462; iii 555
- esse for sese, iii 574
- esse omitted, ii 469
- est for esset, i 520
- est for is, vi 815
- est inserted, iii 705
- est omitted, i 1051; iii 203; iv 799, 1168; v 587; vi 208

- et for a*, v 1226
et for ad, iii 733
et for est, iii 244 (cf. *s* omitted)
et for in, ii 749; vi 500
et quodam for atque ardor, i 777
et for se, v 458
et for unt, vi 588
et inserted, i 820; ii 637, 800; iv 235, 677
et omitted, i 1050; ii 788, 1072; iii 52, 58, 851; iv 491, 755, 1191; v 375, 614, 742, 1038, 1062, 1449; vi 44, 271, 281, 364, 512, 892, 1011, 1156
etiam omitted, ii 843
etta for solli, v 1214
eu for aue, vi 531
eu for ue, iii 6
eum for idem, iv 284
eum repeated, iii 236
ex elementis inserted, vi 1012
ex inserted, iv 804; vi 298
ex omitted, i 263, 843, 874; iv 830; vi 1009
excet for esca, vi 972
extet for esca, vi 972
extrema for extera, ii 277
- f for ae*, vi 1026
f for e, vi 520
f for d, ii 926
f for e, i 233; iv 1046; v 1337
f for m, v 570
f for p, i 789, 800, 942; ii 278; v 297, 1072
f for r, ii 891
f for s, ii 497; iv 557; v 374; vi 909
f for t, iv 178; vi 800
f for u, vi 17
f inserted, i 34, 233; ii 631; iii 1; iv 640; v 896; vi 1282
f omitted, i 9; iii 685, 922, 1007; v 571; vi 13, 160, 235, 795, 971
ff for ce, v 889
fa for ex, vi 385
fau for fur, vi 49
ferris for fieri, vi 1089
ferus for foras, v 906
fi for e, iii 151
- fidei for sine*, v 1129
figura omitted, ii 422
fluctus for flutant, iv 77
flumen for fulmen, i 489
flumina for fulmina, i 1003; ii 213, 1101; v 675, 1192; vi 84
flumineus for fulmineus, ii 382
fluuant for fiant, vi 533
forensis for foret usus, iv 831
freta omitted, vi 374
fuerit for fuerunt, i 467
fuerunt for feruntur, vi 76
fugimus for diximus, ii 926
fulgent for mulcent, v 570
fulmen for flumen, iv 423; v 400; vi 257
- g for a*, v 1362
g for e, i 716, 779; ii 136, 319, 824, 954; iii 29, 553, 853, 922; iv 132, 181, 315, 910, 1124, 1145; v 14, 282, 371, 570, 798, 866, 1145, 1416; vi 22, 31, 168, 641, 701
g for d, iii 1033; v 939
g for e, i 909
g for h, iv 1277
g for i, vi 1150
g for q, v 1283; vi 654
g for r, vi 632
g for x, ii 926
g inserted, ii 50; iv 277, 429, 445
g omitted, i 85; ii 361, 579, 662; vi 9
ge for eg ii 198
genere omitted, ii 666
gerantur for rigantur, ii 262
gi omitted, i 63
gn for mbr, i 784, 785
go omitted, iv 550
greciorum for graiorum, i 136
- h for a*, v 1126; vi 346
h for i, ii 515
h for it, i 721
h for n, ii 34
h for t, v 1220
h inserted, ii 216, 233, 265, 962; iii 152, 395, 978; iv 135, 787, 1130; vi 229, 474, 966, 1074, 1195

- h* omitted, i 51, 734; ii 400, 411, 467, 505, 571, 976; iii 29, 230, 291, 328, 597, 633, 747, 750, 966; iv 3, 1051, 1154; v 274; vi 291, 399, 747, 762, 763, 1016
h omitted, medial and initial, *passim*
haec for ac, v 175
haec omitted, ii 468
haeliae for italiae, i 721
haud for aut, v 1026
haud for hu, v 103
hi inserted, iii 239
hic omitted, ii 132
hinc inserted, vi 199
his inserted, vi 1056
hoc omitted, ii 827
hoc for nec, iv 615
huc for quo, vi 1279

i for a, i 70, 341, 814, 929; ii 227, 523, 692, 770, 842, 1046; iv 179, 565, 822, 1124, 1220; v 187, 723; vi 14, 221, 342, 483, 600, 832, 944, 1017, 1193, 1234, 1283
i for ai, iii 414
i for b, v 1236
i for c, iii 249; vi 881
i for d, v 1305
i for e, i 3, 12, 24, 35, 71, 103, 161, 207, 711, 753, 776, 824, 827, 860, 987, 1009, 1034, 1077, 1081, 1115; ii 64, 69, 186, 218, 222, 365, 490, 721, 759, 821, 826, 832, 927, 1004, 1110, 1174; iii 43, 74, 189, 287, 321, 535, 553, 578, 598, 645, 793, 824, 829, 942, 947, 1017; iv 32, 38, 44, 352, 413, 421, 435, 494, 502, 505, 602, 609, 735, 750, 765, 825, 882, 928, 1176, 1255; v 2, 32, 61, 121, 191, 267, 323, 428, 431, 437, 532, 535, 629, 674, 761, 848, 1016, 1025, 1085, 1159, 1219, 1315, 1366; vi 68, 95, 185, 257, 285, 308, 320, 352, 417, 427, 444, 481, 494, 496, 519, 531, 653, 719, 814, 823, 833, 890, 969, 1007, 1016, 1145, 1166, 1237, 1282
i for em, iii 98

i for et, v 503; vi 820
i for f, iii 943
i for h, iii 34, 267; iv 238; v 1091, 1312; vi 1212
i for l, i 349, 386, 449, 580, 847; ii 28, 105, 428, 429, 430, 541, 951, 961; iii 198, 479, 880, 1017, 1032; iv 53, 72, 82, 357, 414, 899, 1026, 1038, 1065, 1068, 1105, 1202; v 35, 535, 730, 742, 764, 935, 947, 995, 1060, 1354; vi 103, 111, 132, 136, 154, 356, 406, 421, 492, 641, 747, 887, 915, 1071, 1077, 1135, 1148, 1166, 1200, 1249, 1262, 1271
i for mu, i 587
i for o, i 400, 729; ii 329, 466; iii 985; iv 579; v 113
i for or, v 747
i for p, i 846; ii 279
i for q, vi 456
i for r, vi 210
i for ru, i 467
i for s, iii 81; vi 8
i for st, vi 746
i for t, ii 43, 515, 1088; iii 261, 816; iv 368, 417, 727; v 601, 902, 1053, 1230, 1365; vi 105, 336, 532, 798, 1167
i for te, i 77
i for u, i 728; ii 158, 515, 686, 914, 937, 1017; iii 399, 839; iv 637, 974, 975; v 122, 437, 944, 947, 1178, 1214; vi 184, 188, 351, 447, 672, 866, 900
i for um, v 839
i for y, i 737
i for umst, ii 94
i for y, ii 618, 801; vi 1178
i for ye iii 7
i inserted, i 13, 65, 313, 383, 941, 954, 959; ii 43, 86, 322, 371, 390, 495, 502, 536, 780, 872, 898, 956, 1005, 1079, 1136; iii 7, 321, 477, 809, 816, 877, 1042; iv 16, 150, 237, 351, 302, 624, 673, 721, 1013, 1131, 1171; v 45, 112, 679, 946, 1011, 1259, 1350, 1362; vi 92, 377, 406, 1074, 1139, 1226

- i* omitted, i 203, 263, 358, 383, 929;
 ii 320, 379, 423, 502, 593, 607,
 617, 845; iii 232, 430, 450, 492,
 620, 647, 686, 798, 853, 894,
 1077; iv 20, 448, 602, 609, 680,
 721, 743, 751, 754, 878, 1007,
 1053; v 85, 142, 192, 327, 339,
 764, 1020, 1141, 1207, 1243,
 1379, 1389, 1431; vi 91, 198,
 291, 320, 321, 375, 401, 431, 436,
 476, 521, 614, 818, 844, 874, 890,
 913, 925, 928, 986, 1001, 1072,
 1089, 1119, 1171, 1241
i omitted in -ai, *passim*
ia for are ac, v 1267
ia for e, ii 626
ia for tu, iv 1168
iam for im, iii 775; v 53
ibus for bis, i 138
ic for ei, vi 1221
ic for h, ii 934
id for e, i 215
id for eet, iv 632
id omitted, iii 135, 145; iv 473; v
 706; vi 879
ie for ea, iv 877
iecta for igente, ii 193
ig for hinc, iii 158
ignem for imbren, i 784
ignes omitted, v 586
igni for imbri, i 785
ill for u, iv 533
illa for illaec, iv 1059, 1083
ille omitted, vi 1040
illos for ollis, iii 271
illum for filum, v 571
imbris de omitted, vi 509
immenso omitted, ii 305
in for ex, vi 1099
in for hi, v 601, 1105
in for iam, ii 483
in for iue, vi 977
in for m, v 1082; vi 1175, 1268
in for nil, v 871
in for quoi, vi 389
in for sint, v 623
in for u, vi 478
in for ubi, ii 91
in for ut, iv 873; vi 846
in terram for a terra, i 786
in inserted, i 882; ii 514, 560, 875,
 1089; iii 291, 800; iv 283, 501;
 v 1009; vi 919 (cf. ni)
in omitted, i 1025, 1078; ii 475,
 543, 882, 1102; iii 391, 421, 438,
 624, 705, 864; iv 636; v 136,
 142, 1009, 1047, 1243, 1277,
 1431; vi 198, 401, 1171
*in*esse for avessis, iv 822
int for unt, i 467
inter se omitted, v 393
inter for sint, iii 118
io for eu, ii 830
io inserted, vi 678
ior omitted, ii 382
iquam for ete, vi 245
ire for tra, iii 816
is for a, iii 373, 935; v 406, 852
is for e, i 1076; iv 663; v 1095
is for em, ii 384
is for en, i 853
is inserted, ii 867; iv 637
is omitted, v 553; vi 874
isat for ehis, v 2
iss inserted, iii 809
iss omitted, i 1033
it for h, iv 823
it for ti, v 1309
it for unt, iv 328, 486; v 589, 667
it inserted, i 466
it omitted, i 8; iii 59
ita for ali, iv 638
ita ubi omitted, i 479
iti for ut, i 478
itio omitted, v 1357
iu for bi, v 941
iu for ui, iii 583; iv 453; v 1152;
 vi 342
l for b, iii 553; v 1291
l for c, ii 1026; vi 35, 92
l for e, iii 33, 805; iv 47, 587
l for i, i 263, 264, 372, 431, 659,
 990; ii 200, 229, 294, 518, 675,
 823, 938, 974, 1062, 1094, 1170;
 iii 165, 487, 757; iv 21, 79, 96,
 309, 582, 736, 823, 876, 877, 928,
 945, 1129, 1171, 1200, 1209; v
 430, 567, 576, 750, 984, 1147,
 1397, 1429; vi 428, 710, 770,
 880, 1205

- l for p*, vi 357, 1272
l for r, i 296, 581, 744, 824; iii 914;
 v 733, 790, 844; vi 112, 246,
 277, 368, 516, 695, 754, 813
l for s, v 705
l for t, ii 547; iii 170; vi 241
l inserted, i 331, 1065, 1068; ii
 354, 383, 391, 681, 1171; iii 947,
 1037; iv 7, 886, 1057, 1186,
 1208; v 114, 118, 373, 841, 850,
 1088, 1203; vi 299, 683, 800,
 825, 1014
l omitted, i 96, 767; ii 476, 605; iv
 546, 584, 719, 968, 980, 999,
 1081, 1130, 1161, 1182; v 230,
 382, 396, 594, 823, 836, 871,
 1004, 1010, 1384; vi 13, 16, 165,
 208, 372, 646, 751, 992, 1001,
 1009, 1244, 1275
la for in, vi 428
la omitted, iv 758
labat omitted, iii 453
le for i, v 934
le omitted, v 742
li for h, v 295
li for s, v 888
li for u, v 652
licentiae for laetitiae, iii 142
liceret for licet, i 347
ll for i, iii 383
ls omitted, vi 203
lta omitted, v 1366
lu for i, vi 533
lu for rb, vi 695
lu for ul, v 675
lu omitted, v 591, 1302
luc for iung, v 962
lumine for luna, iv 395
luna for soli, ii 801

m for ac, v 241
m for ai, vi 511
m for al, i 665
m for b, i 352; ii 343; iii 11; v 989
m for c, ii 36, 46; iv 79
m for gl, vi 870
m for i, iii 161, 983; v 67
m for in, iv 710

m for n, i 837; ii 95, 1082; iii 573,
 792; iv 416; v 186, 743, 964;
 vi 197, 1268
m for ne, vi 799
m for nt, vi 120, 524
m for p, iii 801
m for r, i 657; ii 515, 933
m for s, i 95; iv 494; v 1033; vi
 469, 956
m for se, vi 129
m for u, ii 42; iii 372; iv 261
m inserted, i 367, 1017, 1024, 1030,
 1037; ii 209, 277, 378, 998; iii
 15, 47, 422, 555, 716, 800, 886,
 906, 957, 1000; iv 210, 272, 501,
 511, 530; v 241, 326, 372, 580,
 884, 904, 1152, 1215, 1421; vi
 155, 344, 371, 442, 465, 474, 514,
 677, 818, 1067, 1082, 1135
m omitted, i 74, 701, 775, 783, 957,
 1047; ii 51, 181, 209, 319, 477,
 490, 516, 518, 664, 668, 672, 674,
 734, 858, 968, 1000, 1080, 1085,
 1114, 1163; iii 84, 225, 304, 432,
 566, 668, 1085; iv 175, 216, 267,
 440, 526, 760, 884, 889, 907,
 1051, 1208; v 186, 318, 521, 525,
 576, 578, 656, 843, 900, 913,
 1101, 1122, 1368, 1410; vi 114,
 128, 202, 296, 542, 609, 613, 675,
 803, 804, 990, 1041, 1064, 1249,
 1267
ma for n, iii 1018
ma omitted, vi 576
magis for minus ii 533
manare for manet res, iii 58
matrumque deorum for coetumque
 decorum, iv 79
me for iam, i 102
me inserted, ii 564
meare for manere, v 116
mente for fronte, v 1325, 1398
mi inserted, iv 395
mi omitted, ii 118; iv 95
minanti omitted, iii 657
minus for nimis, iii 303
mitis for in his, iv 822
mitt for imit, v 1069
mn for nm, iv 1162
mn for ll, vi 475

- mo omitted, iv 539
 montis *for* noctis, iv 460
 movenda *for* vomenda, vi 828
 movet *for* vomit, ii 199
 mquam *for* nta ii 181
 mst omitted, ii 468
 mu omitted, vii 191, 679, 701
 multa *for* nulla, ii 95
 multis omitted, iii 1051
 mus *for* ant, v 920
 mus *for* ntur, iv 392
 mus *for* re, iii 257
 mus omitted, iv 825
 muse, i 657
- n *for* a, i 627
 n *for* c, iii 1007; v 429
 n *for* d, v 1062
 n *for* e, i 830
 n *for* g, vi 490
 n *for* h, iii 91; v 248; vi 816
 n *for* l, i 22; ii 741; v 951; vi 1178
 n *for* m, i 584, 843; ii 413, 483, 1169; ii 144, 608, 1039; iv 1058; vi 81, 323, 456, 476, 721, 833, 1262
 n *for* pi, ii 281
 n *for* r, v 138, 412, 1184
 n *for* ri, iii 1011
 n *for* s, ii 356; iv 78, 982
 n *for* t, iii 792; v 175 1082, 1419; vi 526
 n *for* u, i 861; iv 224, 551, 822; v 993; vi 34
 n *for* ua, ii 630
 n inserted, i 680, 1034; ii 339, 814, 1090; iii 430, 553, 726, 962; iv 222, 475, 600, 1082, 1145; v 33, 38, 105, 223, 225, 251, 588, 823, 865, 937, 1003, 1008, 1124, 1185, 1265; vi 6, 11, 105, 150, 180, 186, 332, 329, 521, 584, 594, 688, 712, 788, 832, 906, 1010, 1025
 n omitted, i 226, 500, 528, 606, 608, 649, 683, 724, 726, 774, 906, 931, 934, 1045; ii 62, 337, 403, 432, 469, 488, 694, 790, 853, 946, 1078, 1129, 1138, 1153; iii 22, 90, 192, 212, 255, 261, 316, 344, 353, 425, 444, 581, 651, 657, 669, 712, 873; iv 76, 448, 999, 1011, 1036, 1058, 1119, 1194, 1200; v 545, 580, 787, 802, 937, 1032, 1065, 1079, 1260, 1331, 1390, 1404, 1440; vi 145, 181, 188, 351, 384, 467, 483, 554, 563, 584, 679, 736, 916, 1141, 1153, 1274
 na inserted, v 397
 na omitted, i 62, 759; iii 708; vi 841
 nam *for* tum, v 1273
 nam omitted, v 884
 nd *for* mbr, vi 864
 ne *for* a, ii 1062
 ne *for* non, ii 935
 ne *for* ri, i 884
 ne inserted, i 691; v 1010, 1115
 ne omitted, i 954; v 133, 900; vi 708
 nec *for* hic, v 1002
 nec *for* ne te, v 91
 nec omitted, i 270
 necessesat *for* videre, iv 493
 neque omitted, iii 853
 ni *for* m, i 724
 ni inserted, i 160; iv 1113, 1205; vi 1016 (cf. in inserted)
 ni omitted, i 188; iii 771, 950; vi 35
 nihil *for* mihi, v 65
 nisi *for* illa his, v 568
 no inserted, v 708
 no omitted, i 759
 nobis *for* nisi, v 560
 non *for* et, iv 433
 non *for* ne, iv 721
 non *for* nunc, ii 131; vi 239
 non omitted, i 916, 994; ii 543; vi 1078
 nonne omitted, ii 210
 non sit in omitted, ii 543
 nos *for* hos, vi 816
 ns *for* t, iii 493
 ns inserted, iv 602
 ns omitted, ii 330; iv 745
 nsis *for* tusus, iv 831
 nt *for* bili, vi 226
 nt *for* m, i 104; v 851
 nt *for* runt, i 708
 nt inserted, v 310

- nt omitted, i 649; iv 65
 nui omitted, v 581
 nulla inserted, ii 743
 nunc omitted, iv 382
- o for a, i 449, 458, 520, 611, 1008;
 ii 123, 152, 452, 495, 783, 803,
 806, 839, 1130, 1174; iii 335,
 346, 585, 1075; iv 62, 460, 472,
 706, 1199; v 584; vi 13, 322,
 490, 667, 719, 736, 793, 806, 820,
 858, 1064
- o for ae, iii 531; iv 1065; v 644
- o for au, iv 710
- o for e, i 1019; ii 42
- o for dus, i 286
- o for e, i 932; ii 301, 928, 966; iii
 1, 866; iv 577, 696, 879, 1064,
 1051; v 559, 654, 675, 1068,
 1150; vi 13, 51, 589, 925, 1040,
 1220
- o for g, vi 710
- o for i, i 619; ii 87, 347, 382; iii
 742, 1050, 1052; iv 344, 662,
 798, 1118; v 930, 1224, 1244;
 vi 1, 808
- o for in, vi 128
- o for oe, i 32 (cf. e omitted)
- o for q, iii 1019
- o for r, v 1362
- o for u, i 87, 384; ii 166, 547, 759,
 803, 833, 1084; iii 106, 476, 732,
 834, 941; iv 465, 485, 517, 654,
 1230; v 296, 482; vi 225, 365,
 1278
- o for ue, iii 747
- o for um, iii 635; iv 553
- o for us, vi 1250
- o inserted, i 999; ii 28, 660; iii
 437; iv 1240; vi 1068
- o omitted, i 156, 637, 639, 743; ii
 14, 88, 825, 1047, 1122; iii 224,
 1085; iv 1132; vi 452, 743
- ob for i, iv 868
- ob omitted, i 639
- oel for ati, vi 858
- od for asi, ii 453
- oe for e, vi 1213
- oe for l, i 527
- oe for u, i 29
- oi for no, ii 356
- oinquit for noscit, ii 356
- ol inserted, v 1145
- omniat for vomat, i 724
- omnis for ollis, vi 475
- on for e, iv 721
- on for unc, ii 131
- on inserted, iii 1079
- ont for agn, vi 490
- or omitted, ii 594
- oracan for crea, i 177
- oris for us, iv 897
- os for um, iii 386
- os omitted, vi 537
- osca for saque saxa, vi 541
- order wrong, i 117, 320, 812; ii
 184, 203, 359, 430, 450, 640, 936,
 1002, 1013; iii 102, 146, 154,
 249, 293, 305, 332, 564, 674, 691,
 794, 999, 1073; iv 677, 752, 799,
 865, 1005; v 182, 239, 836; vi
 281, 351, 616, 710, 941, 1078,
 1259
- p for b, v 892
- p for e, iii 438; iv 570, 590
- p for d, iii 472; iv 712; v 173
- p for e, iii 94
- p for f, i 40; ii 867; iv 890; v
 1064; vi 33, 762
- p for i, ii 521
- p for in, v 485
- p for q, ii 42
- p for r, ii 843; vi 862
- p for t, ii 43; vi 890
- p inserted, i 488, 1065; ii 12, 448;
 iii 317, 588; iv 695; v 156
- p omitted, i 236; ii 505; iii 207;
 iv 211; v 248, 286, 763, 1211,
 1418; vi 25, 48, 318, 408, 466,
 480, 546, 725, 821, 893, 960,
 1083, 1125, 1192
- pa inserted, ii 166
- par for rap, vi 851
- partibus for patribus, iv 1212
- parv for magn, vi 131
- patrem for partem, vi 1164
- pe for la, vi 103
- pe for o, v 367
- pe omitted, vi 223

- per inserted, iii 1036, 1061
 per omitted, i 1107; ii 1047; iii 566; vi 488
 pi for ip, v 749
 pl for el, vi 421
 po inserted, v 836
 po omitted, i 861; vi 1267
 pontus for ventus, i 276
 por omitted, ii 1124
 porro for paulo, ii 137
 possent omitted, v 736
 possint omitted, v 736
 possis for solis, v 753
 possit inserted, iv 384
 potuit for tulit, v 836
 prae for per, iv 25
 praemo for soporem, iii 921
 praesenti omitted, vi 1281
 praeter for pater, iv 1234
 praeter for propter, ii 760
 pri omitted, ii 476
 prin for per, ii 731
 pro for porro, ii 594
 pro omitted, ii 231; v 1039
 propter for praeter, i 174; iv 528, 765; vi 406
 ptu omitted, iii 185
- q for a, vi 741
 q for c, iv 490
 q for d, iv 118; v 1232
 q for g, iv 1137
 q for o, iii 236; v 802
 q for u, iv 446
 q inserted, iv 648
 q omitted, iv 825; vi 1008
 qu for c, i 1036; ii 64, 356, 719, 935, 1106; iii 536; iv 522; v 1102; vi 846, 858, 962
 qu for g, i 690
 qu for gu, ii 621
 qua for quae, i 484
 qua omitted, i 289; ii 1073
 quae for quod, ii 586
 quae omitted, i 269; ii 386, 478; iv 71, 225, 753, 862; vi 959
 quaedam for nedum, iii 240
 quali omitted, vi 219
 quam inserted, iii 358
 quam omitted, iv 884
- quamquam for quanto, ii 131
 quantis for quam in his, iii 394
 quanto quoque for quantaque, v 584
 que for iter, v 1124
 que misplaced, iii 154; v 839
 que for quas, vi 586
 que for re, ii 841
 que for te, ii 18
 que inserted, i 552, 569; ii 171, 427, 707, 800; iii 846; iv 206, 844; v 14, 253, 1124; vi 783, 840, 1110
 que omitted, i 829; ii 246, 318, 439, 1072, 1073, 1078, 1145; iii 21; iv 71, 109, 947; v 5, 342, 592; vi 582, 964, 983
 quedam for ce ea res, ii 719
 quem for quae, iii 60
 quem for quom, i 282
 querelis inserted, vi 15
 queunt omitted, i 827
 qui for quasi, iv 1021
 qui omitted, iii 129
 quia omitted, ii 641
 quidvis omitted, i 703
 quiescat for liquescit, vi 179
 quisque for quemque, i 389
 quisque for quicque, i 775
 quo for non, iv 206
 quo for quoniam, iv 470
 quo for sol, vi 962
 quo inserted, v 838
 quod for coet, iv 641
 quod for quasi, ii 453
 quod omitted, iv 1134
 quod armis omitted, ii 630
 quoque inserted, v 584
 quoque omitted, iii 995
 Qur for cir, ii 267
- r for a, vi 716
 r for b, vi 102
 r for c, iii 293
 r for d, ii 719, 1007; iv 1281; vi 938
 r for h, vi 523
 r for i, i 997
 r for l, ii 54, 112, 414; v 230; vi 337, 1091, 1177
 r for m, v 613

- r for n*, i 646; ii 137; iv 143, 159; vi 466, 1021
r for p, i 1061; iii 994
r for qu, vi 519
r for s, i 668; ii 43, 1126; iii 988; iv 270, 606, 1076; v 810; vi 48
r for su, vi 813
r for t, ii 920; iv 79; v 656; vi 468
r for u, ii 696; vi 1149
r for yt, v 112
r inserted, i 1089; ii 112, 144, 343; iii 319, 325, 463, 525, 880; iv 304, 311, 313, 546, 637, 935, 1055, 1243, 1267; v 139, 142, 290, 558, 568, 953, 974; vi 350, 626, 1089, 1279
r omitted, i 177, 293, 327, 797, 940, 1092; ii 49, 373, 613, 615, 626, 670, 682, 692, 830, 843, 845, 1150; iii 104, 438, 576, 864; iv 3, 242, 249, 252, 277, 280, 359, 437, 477, 543, 730, 829, 856, 886, 1069; v 248, 266, 742, 1124, 1255, 1323, 1324, 1374; vi 54, 112, 138, 162, 178, 288, 298, 307, 401, 481, 524, 550, 762, 831, 851, 855, 856, 968, 1006, 1011, 1037, 1126, 1160, 1132
ra omitted, i 708; iv 466; v 209, 1162; vi 1030, 1215
rae for a, iv 1234
ratre for latro, iii 954
rd for dr, vi 938
re for q, ii 41
re for t, iv 885
re inserted, i 404, 515; iii 662, 890; v 1143; vi 979
re omitted, i 1003; ii 158, 163, 595; iii 1009, 1072; iv 856, 1085, 1196; v 183, 765, 1065; vi 600
recta omitted, ii 249
reddi for rentur, ii 168
referre for ferere, v 23
refert in et for refrenet, vi 568
regio cita for Berecynthia, iv 546
rem omitted, ii 854
rerum for redeunt, v 679
res for mens, ii 289
res omitted, i 893; v 1233; vi 370, 1282
ret for tur, iii 597
revertit omitted, iii 1061
ri for er, vi 842
ri omitted, ii 421; iv 1167
ro omitted, ii 578; iv 1167
rru omitted, vi 324
rt for dr, vi 938
rt for tr, iv 1212
ru for br, vi 804
ru for de, iv 68
ru for tri, iii 893
rum for deunt, v 679
rum for tem, i 139
runtibus for fructibus, iii 1007

s for c, i 619; ii 1089, 1120, 1169; iv 1250; v 402, 727, 1094
s for d, ii 591; v 560
s for e, i 634
s for f, i 739; ii 683, 684; iii 814; iv 84, 407, 843; v 359, 482, 1208, 1277; vi 804, 827
s for h, v 2; vi 1016
s for i, ii 383
s for l, v 823
s for m, i 662, 764, 985; ii 535, 613, 1165; v 34, 799; vi 536, 653, 1186
s for n, ii 343; iii 572, 842; iv 818; vi 454
s for nt, v 852
s for r, i 18, 384, 424, 744; ii 158, 496, 736, 891; iii 435, 616; iv 550; v 1147; vi 1122
s for rum, iv 114
s for t, i 666, 1059; ii 192, 521; iii 170; iv 500; v 288, 853, 1003, 1035; vi 558, 1122
s for tis, v 1048 (cf. *ti omitted*)
s for tu, vi 218
s for u, iv 675
s for x, ii 163; iv 501; v 340, 918
s inserted, i 30, 147, 215, 257, 539, 585, 666, 680, 1033; ii 305, 561, 761, 779, 909, 941, 1024, 1081, 1174; iii 523, 549, 623, 636, 798, 851, 904, 924, 1079; iv 98, 159, 167, 357, 420, 472, 491, 532, 567, 576, 645, 647, 817, 861, 943, 989, 1100, 1174, 1201; v 95, 117, 142,

- 193, 345, 377, 448, 470, 476, 484, 515, 606, 615, 899, 948, 992, 1011, 1058, 1087, 1109, 1184, 1192, 1258, 1307, 1389, 1448; vi 40, 64, 71, 128, 151, 264, 290, 298, 360, 365, 368, 431, 521, 546, 605, 629, 676, 727, 791, 971 1027, 1053, 1076, 1205, 1262, 1264, 1270, 1271
- s omitted, i 734, 854, 984, 1079; ii 22, 103, 191, 205, 247, 251, 489, 553, 562, 586, 615, 628, 693, 815, 959, 977, 1017, 1157; iii 9, 53, 58, 81, 123, 311, 330, 336, 356, 488, 600, 606, 639, 719, 740, 785, 856, 897, 904, 923, 960, 997, 1016, 1018; iv 58, 75, 170, 225, 351, 479, 511, 603, 700, 798, 811, 907, 946, 1048, 1096, 1098, 1127, 1186, 1262; v 30, 247, 349, 362, 439, 441, 505, 507, 528, 629, 714, 757, 809, 824, 944, 987, 993, 1023, 1042, 1047, 1090, 1136, 1182, 1220, 1234, 1253, 1294, 1300, 1322, 1422, 1444, 1449; vi 63, 68, 83, 102, 188, 199, 220, 272, 281, 329, 335, 382, 383, 393, 414, 440, 490, 521, 542, 586, 609, 611, 624, 713, 736, 793, 801, 815, 820, 878, 907, 913, 940, 1041, 1068, 1153, 1190, 1200
- sa omitted, i 853; iv 523
- sacra omitted, v 1164
- saepe quiete inserted, iv 990
- saepsit for flexit, v 468
- sat inserted, v 881
- se for x, vi 229
- scan for saneta, ii 1093
- se omitted, i 723, 1057; ii 247; iii 263, 613, 886; iv 1229; v 185; vi 359
- se for es, ii 1081
- se ca for si ac, iv 1026
- sed omitted, ii 512
- semel for simul, v 743
- semel inserted, v 272
- semper omitted, ii 252
- seorsum omitted, iv 491
- si for res, v 923
- si inserted, v 152
- si omitted, ii 1034; iii 935; iv 515, 804; v 195
- sine ulla omitted, vi 15
- sint omitted, ii 919
- sit for st, iii 1061
- sit for sunt, v 589
- sit inserted, v 881
- sit omitted, vi 366
- so for pe, vi 865
- sol for ror, i 744
- sonitus omitted, vi 112
- sorsum omitted, ii 684
- specie omitted, vi 83
- speciem for specimen, v 186
- squalida sunt illis omitted, ii 467
- sse omitted, iii 555
- st for d, i 427
- st for m, vi 1038
- st for runt, iv 497
- st omitted, i 111, 525; ii 829, 1089; iii 203, 623, 844; iv 118; v 227, 302
- st transferred, ii 275; iii 674, 680, 824; v 227, 331, 1198
- stro omitted, ii 279
- stus omitted, vi 1138
- sub for ibi, v 1076
- sub for super, vi 481
- sub non for fulmen, v 1125
- sublimis for fulminis, vi 350
- sue omitted, v 833
- suf for ve, iii 872
- sunt omitted, ii 24; v 499
- sup for ain, iv 611
- super for supter, ii 1049; v 536; vi 857, 914 (cf. t omitted)
- supra omitted, ii 1049; vi 262
- t for c, ii 49; iii 953, 994, 1012, 1220; vi 516, 787, 1044
- t for ei, iv 357
- t for el, v 692
- t for d, i 263, 407, 569, 1081; ii 27, 169, 326, 467, 489, 493, 747, 750, 1164; iii 328, 598, 733, 970, 1057; iv 425, 570; v 221, 257, 1305, 1456; vi 855, 890, 1091, 1238

- t for e*, iii 2; iv 79, 312; v 838; vi 710, 1200
t for f, i 125; ii 84; iii 100; iv 424, 1055; vi 258, 1054
t for fr, iv 1105
t for i, i 148, 263, 613, 624; ii 600, 637, 845, 1038, 1047, 1052; iii 862; iv 352, 847, 876, 909, 983, 1061, 1121, 1156; v 405, 425, 711, 1132; vi 16, 424, 915, 1198, 1238, 1265
t for in, vi 1171
t for l, i 411; ii 15, 95, 985; iii 62; iv 906, 967; vi 110
t for m, iii 38
t for n, v 1003; vi 490
t for ns, vi 1195
t for p, i 16, 271, 789; iv 17, 88, 907; vi 237, 1165
t for r, ii 158; v 287
t for s, ii 359, 1089; iii 570; iv 355; v 2, 458, 714, 976, 1032, 1255; vi 73, 168, 894, 997, 1020, 1139
t for u, ii 43; iv 543
t for x, iv 648; v 688
t inserted, i 120, 161, 168, 243, 429, 804, 1040; ii 94, 279, 396, 403, 488, 809, 828, 1071; iii 211, 218, 816, 908; iv 104, 395, 407, 427, 456, 514, 820, 864, 869, 996, 1126; v 288, 389, 531, 605, 626, 808, 910, 995, 1099; vi 22, 32, 149, 172, 318, 449, 466, 519, 705, 972, 1013, 1018, 1045, 1124, 1186, 1195, 1235
t omitted, i 453, 912, 993; ii 39, 40, 147, 182, 625, 645, 658, 763, 788, 827, 925, 1049; iii 2, 6, 58, 114, 269, 280, 306, 400, 507, 544, 580, 623, 651, 661, 848, 864, 957, 964, 992, 1038; iv 35, 63, 264, 289, 436, 449, 485, 554, 623, 643, 647, 798, 886, 1176, 1183, 1224, 1252, 1262; v 35, 53, 70, 120, 151, 233, 293, 375, 492, 496, 613, 626, 657, 684, 753, 846, 861, 906, 933, 1097, 1190, 1226, 1234, 1273, 1361, 1453; vi 32, 87, 139, 180, 193, 235, 241, 249, 295, 522, 526, 707, 726, 761, 857, 862, 914, 920, 922, 937, 946, 1011, 1082, 1213, 1251
ta for re, ii 480
ta inserted, iii 732, 1073; v 1082
ta omitted, i 621; iii 136, 883; v 96, 859
taque for i, i 1047
tam for tamen, iii 735
tan omitted, ii 670; iii 1063
tantum inserted, vi 567
te for et, ili 852; v 531, 966; vi 565
te for it, ii 995
te for que, ii 665
te for sq, ii 18
te omitted, i 36; iv 474, 1282; vi 209, 245, 976
templa omitted, i 1064
tempus for pectus, ii 46
ten for lat, vi 899
ten inserted, iv 433
tenere for saecla, ii 1153
ter for bet, vi 892
ter for dita, iv 447
ter omitted, i 890; v 649, 1086
ter in omitted, vi 401
thrait for trahit, vi 258
ti for et, iii 279
ti inserted, vi 780, 1017
ti omitted, i 455; ii 520; iii 371; v 1048
tic for por, iv 43
tl for i, v 984
to for re, v 1451
toto for quoque, iii 747
tque inserted, iv 550
tr for rt, vi 1164
tra for con, ii 673
tra omitted, iv 653
tris omitted, vi 1220
tru omitted, iv 246
trunco omitted, iii 596
tu omitted, vi 1195
tu for a, i 77
tu for ia, v 1442
tum for gitur, iii 633
tum for iam, v 1442

- tum inserted, vi 1153
 tum omitted, vi 402
 tum, wrong order, iii 249
 tunc for tum, i 130; ii 710; iv 455;
 vi 250
 tur omitted, vi 376
- u for a, ii 833, 1116; iii 486, 626,
 687; iv 210, 540, 723, 1259; v
 100, 518, 551, 723, 906, 996; vi
 168, 430, 567, 605, 811, 1064,
 1173, 1216, 1223
 u for ai, ii 197
 u for b, i 11, 222, 1038, 1108; ii 99,
 152; iii 1011; iv 445, 546, 572,
 617, 661, 1022, 1129, 1137,
 1195; v 79, 82, 930, 965, 1245,
 1289; vi 695, 955, 1028, 1092,
 1097
 u for bi, v 879
 u for d, iii 1046; vi 878
 u for e, i 59, 158; ii 577, 743, 1007;
 iii 896; iv 516, 752, 755, 824,
 1022, 1268; v 286, 291, 812,
 863, 1095, 1096, 1122; vi 234,
 236, 1212
 u for f, v 844
 u for g, i 674
 u for i, i 442, 533, 728, 966; ii 42,
 152, 325, 429, 615, 765, 814, 923,
 926, 979; iii 28, 881, 1089; iv
 42, 67, 317, 324, 330, 478, 496,
 605, 754, 977; v 181, 485, 783,
 839, 918, 941, 965, 1017, 1043,
 1100, 1121; vi 30, 128, 244
 u for l, iii 95; v 12
 u for li, iv 719
 u for m, iv 252
 u for n, v 233; ii 615; iv 845; v
 1400
 u for o, i 155, 256, 315; ii 332, 504,
 684, 742, 879, 885, 887, 911, 920;
 iii 83, 132, 266, 307, 324, 343,
 379, 400, 417, 460, 467, 595, 655,
 713, 904; iv 97, 193, 303, 361,
 459, 576, 584, 767, 793, 935; v
 61, 516, 653, 784, 798, 1055; vi
 73, 170, 305, 356, 1122, 1233
 u for r, i 553; ii 42, 721; v 29
- u for s, v 1227
 u for t, ii 158; iv 471; v 881
 u for ti, iv 406, 1240
 u for ui, vi 1001 (cf. i omitted)
 u inserted, i 670, 741, 992; ii 424,
 488, 833, 910; iii 440, 553, 599;
 iv 440, 608, 1033; v 61, 437,
 1225, 1330; vi 14, 233, 804,
 1067, 1077, 1285
 u omitted, i 651; ii 73, 240, 437,
 452, 500, 928, 1061; iii 243, 399,
 1069; iv 604, 608, 869, 1039,
 1218; v 681, 692, 854, 966, 1239,
 1322, 1370; vi 76, 192, 216, 309,
 836, 860, 1078, 1153, 1157, 1192,
 1217, 1237
 ua for bo, i 1038
 ua for e, iv 361
 ua for ge, iv 545
 uai omitted, vi 863
 ualereut for ulla fieri, i 357
 uaporis for pavoris, iii 305
 ue for ut, vi 1121
 ue inserted, v 654, 1102; vi 538
 ue omitted, iv 616; vi 359
 uelle omitted, iii 594
 uere omitted, i 752
 uero omitted, v 901
 uerum for utrum, iii 727
 uesco omitted, i 326
 ug for ic, i 852
 ui for ia, iii 894
 ui for iu, vi 234, 873
 ui for u, iv 721 (cf. i inserted)
 ui for ut, iii 261 (cf. i for t)
 ui inserted, v 268
 ui omitted, i 562; ii 68, 166; iii
 159; v 396; vi 568
 uia for quea, iv 825
 uia omitted, vi 1148
 uidebis for uideres, i 537
 uidentur for figura, ii 422
 uidere omitted, iv 493
 uietae omitted, ii 1168
 uirget for urget, i 282
 uis omitted, vi 510, 568
 uit for tur, ii 158
 uiuenti for imbris de, vi 509
 uix for iue, v 1394
 ul for ui, i 659 (cf. l for i)

ulla *for* nulla, iii 1010; v 251
 ullo omitted, ii 839
 um *for* a, ii 8, 313
 um *for* et, iii 106
 um *for* i, i 367; iv 418
 um *for* is, i 1047
 um *for* or, iii 397; vi 1187
 um *for* os, v 21
 um *for* t, i 33
 um inserted, vi 21
 um omitted, iv 129
 un *for* i, iv 226
 un *for* ru, iv 423
 un omitted, iv 758; vi 274
 unde omitted, ii 331
 uni *for* mu, iv 1164
 unt omitted, iii 416
 uocem omitted, iv 526
 nodam *for* ardor, i 777
 uoluntas *for* uoluptas, ii 257, 258
 ur *for* a, iii 710
 ur *for* as, i 781
 ur *for* aiore, vi 465
 ur *for* et, iv 956
 ur inserted, ii 673; iv 54
 ur omitted, i 169, 739, 1076; iii
 597, 966; iv 334, 1055; vi 76,
 832
 us *for* a, iv 576; v 563

us *for* ter, iii 676, 789; v 133
 us inserted, v 1071; vi 1240
 us omitted, iv 425; iii 404; v 24;
 vi 144
 ut *for* ita, iv 324
 ut *for* uti, iv 448; vi 291
 ut inserted, i 50; v 839
 ut omitted, ii 475, 1101; iii 254,
 263, 347, 458, 493, 621, 725,
 1008; iv 282, 418, 668; v 836;
 vi 116, 144
 ute *for* muta, iv 772
 utem omitted, iii 561
 uti *for* ut, ii 86, 322, 536, 780; iii
 816
 uti omitted, vi 1028
 utqui omitted, ii 428
 utsere inserted, vi 1238

 x *for* a, vi 320
 x *for* rs, iii 864
 x *for* s, v 1134; vi 972
 x *for* st, iii 244
 x inserted, ii 451; vi 972
 x omitted, ii 893

 y *for* i, i 638; ii 6, 455, 879; iii
 991, 992; iv 637

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PROPOSED EMENDATIONS OF LUCRETII

BY

WILLIAM A. MERRILL

At a later time arguments defending these proposals will be made.

- | | | | |
|--------|---|---------|---|
| i 126 | coepisse et rerum naturam
pandere dietis | ii 515 | denique ab ignibus ad geli-
das brumae usque pruinas |
| i 469 | namque aliud per res aliud
regionibus ipsis | ii 547 | quippe etenim quoque uti
sumam hoc finita per omne |
| i 491 | dissiliuntque fere ferventi
saxa vapore | ii 630 | quos memorant Phrygios
qui inter se forte crepantes |
| i 709 | constituere aut umorem
quicumque putantve | ii 673 | si nil praeterea tamen haec
in corpore tractant |
| i 752 | extremum quod habent
minimum consistere posse | ii 696 | multarum rerum cum sint
primordia mixta |
| i 874 | ex alienigenis alienigena
exoriuntur | ii 854 | propterea tandem debent
primordia rerum |
| i 777 | cum terra simul atque va-
por cum rore manere | ii 903 | constituunt porro migrant
sentire sueti |
| ii 43 | ornatas armis porro pari-
terque animatas | ii 919 | atque animalibu' mortali-
bus sint una eademque |
| ii 105 | cetera quae porro magnum
per inane vagantur
paucula dissiliunt longe— | ii 926 | tum praeterea quod sump-
simus ante |
| ii 114 | contemplator enim cum
solis lumina seque | ii 941 | nec congressa semel vitalis
convenientis |
| ii 181 | naturam mundi quam mag-
nast praedita culpa | ii 1080 | in primis animalia iudicio
sunt |
| ii 356 | concit humi pedibus ves-
tigia pressa bisulcis | ii 1089 | quam genus omne quidem
generatim rebus abundans |
| ii 453 | namque papaveris haustus
itemst facilis quo aquarum | ii 1120 | omnibus his aetas debet
consistere creta |
| ii 483 | namque in eadem una
cuiusvis haec brevitate | ii 1168 | tristis item vetulae vitis
sator atque caduceae |

- iii 11 floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia rimant
- iii 58 eliciuntur et eripitur persona homini re
- iii 84 rumpere et in summa pietatem evertere suesse
- iii 173 brutus et in terra mentis qui gignitur aestus
- iii 306 interutrasque ita sunt cervos saevosque leones
- iii 319 illud in his rebus fido firmare potesse
- iii 335 sed communibus inter se confatur utrimque
- iii 365 quod foribus non fit neque enim qui cernimus ipsi
- iii 394 et quam illa his intervallis tuditantia possint
- iii 493 turbat agens animam spumas ut in aequore salso
- iii 504 tum quasi homo titubans primum consurgit
- iii 617 sedibus et certis regionibus corporis haeret
- iii 620 atque ita multimodis perdoctis artibus esse
- iii 790 quod si iam posset multo prius ipsa animi vis
- iii 852 et nunc nil ad nos de nobis attinet ante
qui fuimus nil iam de illis nos adficit angor
- iii 876 non ut opinor enim dat quod promittit et und' det
- iii 935 nam gratis fuit id tibi vita anteacta priorque
- iii 962 aequo animoque age nunc annis concede necessest
- iii 992 quem livor lacerat atque exest anxius angor
- iii 1061 esse domi per quem taesumst subitoque remigrat
- iv 71 pauca queunt et iam sunt prima fronte locata
- iv 77 per malos volitata trabesque trementia fluctant
- iv 79 scenai speciem patrum matrumque decores
- iv 91 consimiles ideo diffuse rebus abundant
- iv 117 integra pars nulla possit ratione videri
- iv 146 et hoc laxas cum pervenit in res
- iv 166 quandoquidem speculum quocunque obvertimus ocius
- iv 178 longo spatio ut brevis hora petatur
- iv 290 si quae illic reddunt
- iv 321 continuo rerum quaedam simulacra secuntur
- iv 545 et validi cyeni cantu oris ex Heliconis
- iv 594 humanum genus est avidum nimis auscultare
- iv 611 saepe potest per saepta

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GREEK AND LATIN GLYCONICS

BY

LEON JOSIAH RICHARDSON

The ancients held conflicting views, as is well known, concerning the meters of lyric poetry. The doctrine of *metra derivata*,¹ disseminated among the Romans by Varro, Diomedes, Bassus, Marius Victorinus and others, differed widely from the conceptions of Greek writers like Aristoxenus, Aristides Quintilianus, and Hephaestion. This lack of agreement results mainly from differences of method and aim. A Greek metrician, for example, when analyzing a lyric verse, usually sets forth a metrical plan consistent with the rhythm. His formulation is likely to serve as a practical aid for a reader or singer. A Roman metrician, on the other hand, dealing with a similar verse, is likely to be less concerned with the rhythm as felt by the poet than with the origin of the verse-form. This is implied in the name *metra derivata*.

For a modern student the evolutionary aspect of the verse (even if it were correctly set forth) is of small interest in comparison with the question of how poets actually read their odes. This brings up the problem with which we are here concerned. Is then Roman theory valid for Latin poetry as Greek theory is for Greek poetry? Did Catullus and Horace differ largely

¹ See Gleditsch, *Metrik*, 1901 edition, pages 70, 73, and 248. Also Schroeder, *Horazens Versmass*. Page 15 of the latter work contains the following statement: "Massgebend für ihn [Horaz] war eine ihm vornehmlich durch Varro vermittelte Theorie, die weder mit dem Leben noch mit echter Gelehrsamkeit irgendwelche Fühlung gehabt hatte. Aber diese Theorie, so musenverlassen sie war, beruhte doch auf richtiger Beobachtung des Tatsächlichen, und so verhält sich denn auch Horaz in seinen Neuerungen bei weitem nicht so willkürlich und stilwidrig zu den Lesbiern, als z. B. Euripides."

from Sappho and Alcaeus in the way they felt the swing and flow of a given verse? Perhaps these questions will never be fully answered. Much however is being learned from a careful and detailed comparison of the four primary elements involved in the problem, namely Greek theory, Roman theory, the text of Greek poetry and the text of Latin poetry. In the present study an attempt is made to throw further light on the subject by re-examining Greek and Latin Glyconics. Examples of the verse are:

reddas incolumem precor (Hor. *Od.* i, 3, 7).
splendidas quatiunt comas (Cat. lxi, 78).

The method of investigation here followed consists largely in noting the distribution of diaereses and caesuras—always an important clue to verse structure. It does not seem necessary for our purpose to extend inquiry beyond the poets named in the following table.

TABLE I

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
		1st syl.	2nd syl.	3rd syl.	4th syl.	5th syl.	6th syl.	7th syl.	8th syl.	
Alcaeus } 1. Sappho } Anacreon }	87	25.2	50.5	63.2	32.1	33.3	42.5	4.5	91.9	3.64
2. Sophocles	132	38.6	56	59.8	25.7	27.2	65.1	26.5	92.4	3.91
3. Euripides	182	40.1	53.2	57.6	19.7	39	59.3	19.7	72.5	3.60
4. Catullus	200	27.5	28	62	13	48.5	61.5	3	99.5	3.68
5. Horace	164	39.6	53	46.3	27.4	39	52.4	1.2	100	3.59

The foregoing table is to be read as follows. Column A shows the number of verses selected for investigation: 87 from the poems of Alcaeus, Sappho and Anacreon; 132 from Sophocles; and so on. Columns B–I show the relative frequency of breaks. (The term *break* is used to mean diaeresis or caesura without distinction.) For example, a little over 40% of the verses of Euripides begin with a monosyllable (see column B), in 28% of the verses of Catullus a word ends with the second syllable (see column C), 100% of the verses of Horace show diaeresis after the eighth syllable, and so on. Column J shows the average density of the verses. The index number in each group is the total number of words divided by the total number of verses.

By this test it appears that the five groups are strikingly similar to one another.

Breaks within the verse occur most frequently in three places. In the case of groups 1, 2, 3, and 5 these places are after the second, third, and sixth syllables. In the case of group 4 the places are after the third, fifth, and sixth syllables. It is noteworthy that Horace (group 5) conforms to the Greek poets.

TABLE II

GROUP 1 Alcaeus Sappho Anacreon	GROUP 2 Sophocles	GROUP 3 Euripides	GROUP 4 Catullus	GROUP 5 Horace
2 6 9	2 6 16	23 6 13	1 3 6 29	2 5 14
3 7	23 6 11	2 6 12	23 6 15	23 6 13
3 5 5	3 6 9	3 6 12	2 5 14	1 3 6 12
1 3 4	1 3 6 5	12 6 11	1 3 5 6 13	1 3 5 11
1 3 6 4	123 6 4	1 3 6 7	3 5 12	3 6 9
234 4	234 6 4	1 3 5 7	2 6 12	2 4 8
23 6 3	34 6 3	23 6	3 6 11	4 8
2 5 3	1 3 5 6 3	2 5 6 6	3 5 6 9	2 6 7
23 5 3	23 3	123 6 6	1 3 5 8	23 5 6
3 5 3	2 5 6 3	23 5 5	2 5 6 8	12 4 6 6
23 3	1 3 7 3	3 5 5	4 7	1 4 6 6
345 3	1 4 7 3	1 6 4	23 5 6 7	2 5 6 5
3 5 6 2	23 7 3	23 7 4	23 5 6	4 6 5
2 5 6 2	3 5 7 3		1 4 5	3 5 5
23 5 7 2	2 6 7 3			12 6 5
12 4 6 2				3 4

This table, which shows the dominant combinations of words in the verse, is to be read as follows: "2 6 9" in group 1 means that a Glyconic having breaks within it after the second and sixth syllables occurs 9 times in Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon; "2 5 14" in group 5 means that a verse having breaks within it after the second and fifth syllables occurs 14 times in Horace; and so on.

As a rule, the word-combinations of marked frequency in the Greek verses are likewise frequent in the Latin. Exceptions are "4," "23 5 6" and "1 4" of Catullus and "2 4," "4" and "4 6" of Horace. All these forms however actually occur in the Greek, though only rarely. On the whole the outstanding fact is the similarity of the Greek and Latin Glyconics.

Throughout the rest of this discussion the symbol G will be used to represent the Greek view concerning the structure of the Glyconic:

oo--|----

And similarly the symbol R will represent the Roman view according to the derivation theory:

--|---|---

Our problem then may be restated in the form: Were Latin Glyconics written under the influence of R, or of G, or of both?

FIRST AND SECOND SYLLABLES

A break after the first syllable of the verse is a caesura under either G or R. It is employed, as we should expect, with about the same degree of freedom by all the poets. (See table I.)

A break after the second syllable, under G, cuts the initial meter in the middle; under R it is a diaeresis after the first foot. This break has about equal representation in groups 1, 2, 3, and 5. (See table I.) Catullus alone shows a definite variation. With him about one verse in four shows the break. With Horace every other verse on the average shows it, which squares exactly with Greek practice.

Reference may here be made to the initial quantities of the verse, the two unregulated syllables. The Greek poets incline toward beginning the verse with two long syllables, though either of them may be replaced by a short syllable or both of them may be replaced (rarely) by short syllables. Catullus follows the Greek usage, except that he begins no verse with two short syllables. Horace begins all verses with two long syllables, except one (*Od.* i, 15, 36), which has at the outset the form of a trochee.

THIRD AND FOURTH SYLLABLES

A break after the third syllable is a caesura under either G or R. It gives an agreeable effect and is freely employed (See table I.)

A break after the fourth syllable, under G, is a diaeresis occurring between two meters; it is not objectionable, according to Greek usage, unless employed with some frequency. Under R it is a feminine caesura; such an effect is generally limited by

the relation of sound to sense. Apart from the rare break after the seventh syllable, this is the least numerous break in the verse. In Catullus the percentage is quite low. Horace however falls into line with the Greek poets.

If we turn to the poems of Catullus and look at the verses concerned, we find a strong pause after the third syllable in three cases, the fourth syllable being in effect a proclitic:

complexum. sed abit dies	(lxi, 105).
gaudeat. sed abit dies	(Ib. 112).
neglegit. sed abit dies	(Ib. 192).

The break in another is obscured by elision:

qualis unica ab optima	(Ib. 221).
------------------------	------------

In another the break is bridged by close grammatical agreement:

suave olentis amaraci	(Ib. 7).
-----------------------	----------

Similarly in Horace two of the verses concerned have a proclitic as the fourth syllable, e.g.,

nocturnis ab adulteris	(iii, 16, 4).
------------------------	---------------

In two others the break is followed by a word of enclitic nature, e.g.,

non sum qualis eram bonae	(ii, 9, 1).
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In six cases the break is bridged by close grammatical agreement, e.g.,

me nunc Thressa Chloe regit	(iii, 9, 9).
velox mente nova? quibus	(iii, 25, 3).

In all the cases cited the break after the fourth syllable is hardly felt.

Compare in this connection the Phalaecean verse of Catullus (the first eight syllables of which, considered as a quantitative series, are identical with those of the Glyconic). A break after the fourth syllable is here also conspicuous for its rarity. It occurs in 8.9 per cent of the verses (forty-eight cases), but upon examining them we find that in eight cases elision minimizes the break, in five cases the break is followed by an enclitic and in one case the fourth syllable is proclitic. This leaves only thirty-one breaks unsoftened by purely formal devices, while in some of these a rhetorical device, e.g., a strong pause after the third

syllable, tends to make the break less obtrusive. The avoidance of a break at a certain point in a verse is highly significant. By way of illustration select a representative group of Greek or Latin verses like any of the following:

paene insularum, Sirmio, insularumque	(Cat. xxxi, 1).
novaeque pergunt interire lunae	(Hor. <i>Od.</i> ii, 18, 16).
paterna rura bobus exercet suis	(Id. <i>Ep.</i> ii, 3).
iucunda captat praemia	(Id. <i>ib.</i> ii, 36).
truditur dies die	(Id. <i>Od.</i> ii, 18, 15).

In such verses a break after the fourth syllable will be found to be comparatively rare. This is due primarily to a structural condition; that is to say, the break separates one metrical division from another. If it were often used, it would injure the flow of the verse. The same cause accounts for the infrequency of this break in the Phalaecean and the Glyconic. In the latter verse, accordingly, whether Greek or Latin, the true metrical divisions are as set forth in G. It is of course possible, as some assert, that Catullus and Horace were led by contemporary scholars to accept R as an explanation of the origin of the Glyconic. Even so, they composed their verses according to canons implied in G.

FIFTH SYLLABLE

A break after the fifth syllable, under G, is a caesura; under R, a diaeresis. Let us here bear in mind a principle of classical Greek metric similar to the one cited in the foregoing paragraph. Caesuras tend to outnumber diaereses in the initial and middle parts of dactylic verses of any compass and of trochaic and iambic verses of less than tetrameter compass. The flowing quality of the verse is in this way enhanced. Classical Latin poetry written in these meters shows the same usage. Why should the Latin Glyconic be an exception to the rule? Especially since under G it is similar to trochaic and iambic verse in character, or under R it is dactylic. A Roman poet then, writing Glyconics under the influence of R, would seemingly have avoided the frequent use of this break. Horace however employed it with much the same frequency as did the Greek poets; Catullus uses it somewhat more often.

Particularly significant are verses with breaks after both the second and fifth syllables. One would naturally suppose that if Roman poets wrote Glyconics of the R type, they would avoid this pair of breaks, inasmuch as they produce a diaeresis after each of the two opening feet and thus involve coincidence of thesis and word-accent in those feet. But what are the facts? Verses having this pair of breaks (either with or without other breaks) are common. Their relative frequency in the five successive groups is: 13.7%, 14.3%, 17.5%, 20%, and 21.9%. This arrangement, as is here seen, became progressively more in favor. The Roman poets outdid the Greeks in the usage. It is therefore hard to believe that Catullus and Horace felt the metrical divisions of the Glyconic as set forth under R.

SIXTH SYLLABLE

(a) A break after the sixth syllable is a natural one under either G or R. It is employed freely by all the poets. Verses ending with a dissyllabic word abound. Their relative frequency in the five groups is:

41.3% 56% 52.1% 61.5% 52.4%

(b) Verses having breaks after the third and sixth syllables (with or without other breaks) abound. Their relative frequency is:

22.9% 39.3% 30.2% 44.5% 25.6%

(c) Verses having breaks after the second and sixth syllables (with or without other breaks) abound. Their relative frequency is:

24.1% 58.6% 34% 22.5% 29.8%

(d) Verses having breaks after the second, fourth and sixth syllables (with or without other breaks) are rare. Their relative frequency is:

5.7% 6.8% 2.7% .5% 6.7%

(e) Verses having breaks after the fifth and sixth syllables (with or without other breaks) are rare. Their relative frequency is:

8% 11.3% 12.6% 21.5% 9.1%

(f) Verses having breaks after either the fifth or the sixth or the fifth and the sixth syllables (with or without other breaks) abound. Their relative frequency is:

67.8% 81% 85.1% 89% 82.3%

This material enables us to draw the following inferences: (1) The Roman poets are similar to their Greek predecessors. (2) But in every line of figures Horace is nearer Greek standards than is Catullus. (3) By reference to *b* and *c*, it may be observed that verses broken after the second and sixth syllables are more common than those broken after the third and sixth syllables in every group, except in the case of Catullus. (4) The low percentages in *d* seem to be due to G. For verses written on that plan and often divided in the manner indicated would over-emphasize diaeresis. (5) By reference to *e*, we see that Catullus alone is fond of closing a verse with the word-combination *monosyllable dissyllable*. (The next to the last word may be a dissyllable with its ultima elided.) For example,

lusimus satis. at boni (Ixi, 232).

This peculiarity accounts for the large figure opposite the name of Catullus in column F of table I. See also the last paragraph before table II. (6) The derivation theory predisposes us to look for a main caesura in Latin verse. According to an ancient writer, *omnis versus κατὰ τὸ πλείστον in duo cola dividitur*. Latin Glyconics however do not emphasize a main caesura more than do Greek Glyconics, as may be seen by reference to *f*.

SEVENTH AND EIGHTH SYLLABLES

Breaks after the seventh and eighth syllables call for little comment. Sophocles and Euripides often allow a word to run from a Glyconic into the next metrical member. In these two poets therefore the disparities appearing in columns H and I of table I do not indicate any abnormality in the structure of the verse. Catullus and Horace are in close accord with Alcaeus, Sappho, and Anacreon in the terminal portion of the verse.

CONCLUSION

However widely the derivation theory was accepted among Roman scholars, we find no convincing evidence that Catullus and Horace were much under the sway of it in writing their Glyconics. Individual bent is sufficient to account either for the comparatively small number of breaks after the second syllable of the verse in the case of Catullus or for the fixed quantities of the first two syllables in the case of Horace. Possibly the misleading effects of the current theory were for them offset in part by some contact with orthodox teaching. During his residence at Athens Horace certainly did not miss altogether the older traditions of Greek learning. This may explain why his verse is in certain technical points closer to the Greek than is that of Catullus. At all events they had both read attentively their Greek models. Doubtless from this source primarily they acquired their feeling for the Glyconic and its component parts. Their work, as we have seen, is in remarkable accord with Greek standards. It follows that we are justified in reading the Latin Glyconic according to the metrical plan of the Greek prototype.

THE PLOT TO MURDER CAESAR ON THE BRIDGE

BY

MONROE E. DEUTSCH

Suet. *Iul.* 80: qui primum cunctati utrumne¹ in Campo per comitia tribus² ad suffragia vocantem³ partibus divisis e ponte deicerent atque exceptum trucidarent. . . .

Nic. Dam. XXIII: ἄλλοι δ' ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις [εἰσέφερον ἐγχειρεῖν], ἐν αἷς αὐτὸν ἔδει καθιστάντα ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίῳ τὰς ἀρχὰς διέναι τινὰ γέφυραν, διακληρωσάμενοι τὸ ἔργον ὅπως οἱ μὲν ὤσειαν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς γεφύρας, οἱ δὲ ἐπιδραμόντες κτείνειαν. — (Carolus Müllerus, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, III, 443, and Ludovicus Dindorfius, *Historici Graeci Minores*, I, 117.)

Prior to the murder of Julius Caesar at the meeting of the senate on the Ides of March, the conspirators had considered other times and places at which to slay him. The only writers who enumerate the schemes which were discussed are Suetonius (*Iul.*, 80) and Nicolaus of Damaseus (*Βίος Καίσαρος*, 23). It is interesting to observe that both name the same three discarded plans: (1) an attack on Caesar as he proceeded along the Sacra Via, where he as Pontifex Maximus lived in the Domus Publica; (2) an assault at the entrance to the theatre at the time when games were being held there; and (3) the plot that is to be considered in this paper.

¹ *illum* added after *utrumne* T. (The MSS are designated as in Ihm's edition.)

² *tribuis* M.

³ *vocante* MP'TS: *vocantes* G.

The editors of Suetonius have had a great deal of difficulty with the account of the third plot. J. C. Rolfe, following the traditional interpretation, thus translates it in the Loeb Classical Library: "At first they hesitated whether to form two divisions at the elections in the Campus Martius, so that while some hurled him from the bridge as he summoned the tribes to vote, the rest might wait below and slay him." *Pons* is explained as follows: "The *pons suffragiorum*, a temporary bridge of planks over which the voters passed one by one, to cast their ballots; Cic. *ad Att.* I, 14; Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 634."⁴ It is indeed perfectly clear that over these *pontes* (there were as many of them as the compartments in the *saepia* or *ovile* which the voters left⁵) the individual Romans passed in order to cast their ballots. But the difficulty is this: What was Caesar, the presiding officer, doing on such a *pons*? For it is well known that the presiding magistrate at the *comitia centuriata* sat upon the tribunal.⁶ It is for this reason that both Wolf and Baumgarten-Crusius have given the passage up. Mommsen, Drumann, and Madvig, however, accept Suetonius' statement with the interpretation just given. Mommsen says: "Dass der Vorsitzende *e ponte* die Bürger zum Stimmen aufruft, sagt Sueton *Caes.* 80."⁷ Drumann⁸ gives the following explanation:

⁴ Cf. also Cic. *de Leg.*, III, 17, 38, (Cic.) *ad Herenn.*, I, 12, 21; Fest. 334 M, and Varro in Nonius 523, 22.

⁵ The number of compartments in the *saepia*, and accordingly the number of *pontes*, was at least eighty: Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, III, 1, 401, Lange, *Römische Alterthümer*, II, 523, Daremberg and Saglio (s. v. *comitia*), I, 2, 1395, and Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, 469.

⁶ Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, III, 1, 383, and note 3, and Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, I, 399.—In the Delphin Classics an attempt is made to reconcile this fact with Suetonius' statement by maintaining that in this passage it is the *comitia tributa* of which mention is made, not the *comitia centuriata*. This is refuted, however, by Wolf in his edition of Suetonius. Other attempts at a reconciliation are to be found in Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, III, 1, 401, Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, 471, and Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, 258. See also Herzog, *Geschichte und System der römischen Staatsverfassung*, I, 1125. For these hypotheses there is apparently no evidence at all; they are simply attempts to suggest possible ways of harmonizing what appear to be conflicting statements.

⁷ Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, III, 1, 401, note 3: cf. also Liebenan in Pauly-Wissowa (1901), IV, 691. Madvig (*Die Verfassung und Verwaltung des römischen Staates*, I, 259) also cites this passage "wo Cäsar während der Wahlversammlung, auf dem *pons* stehend, die *tribus ad suffragia* beruft."

⁸ Drumann III², 649.

Seit der Einführung der Stimmtafeln war eine Beaufsichtigung der Diribitoren wünschenswert, wie schon daraus erhellt, dass ein Volksbeschluss für um so ehrenvoller galt, je mehr sie sich des allgemeinen Vertrauens erfreuten (Cic. *post red. in sen.* 28, Pis. 36). Es liegt daher nichts befremdliches darin, wenn der Diktator diese Aufsicht selbst übernahm und zu dem Ende sich auf die sogenannte Brücke begab, welche zu den Schranken führte.

This argument is unconvincing, (1) because there is not a scrap of evidence elsewhere to imply that the presiding officer appeared on the *pons*, (2) as Drumann himself points out,⁹ the people merely elected the candidates Caesar named, and (3) he could only have stood on one of the eighty or more *pontes*, and his oversight of the voting would hardly have been great.¹⁰

None of these scholars, however, apparently took cognizance of the fact that the same plot is described by Nicolaus;¹¹ in fact, most of them could not possibly have done so, for this passage is in the Escorial codex and was first published in 1848 by Feder at Darmstadt and in 1849 by Müller. Therefore, even if the argument that follows fails to be convincing, at any rate this paper will have performed the function of emphasizing the fact that the passage in Suetonius should not be interpreted without a careful consideration of the words of Nicolaus.

Let us therefore turn to that author and seek to gain what light we can from him with reference to this plot. We first of all observe that Nicolaus speaks, not of standing upon a bridge to watch voters pass or the like, but of crossing a bridge (*δουέναι*); furthermore it is not merely stated that Caesar was going to cross this bridge, but that he had to cross it (*ἔδει*).

⁹ Drumann III, 612, note 3: "Das Volk wählte aber natürlich nur die von ihm empfohlenen Kandidaten, z. B. im J. 44 nach dem Luperkalienfeste (Dio XLIV, 11, 4) die sämtlichen Beamten für das J. 43, sowie die Konsuln und Volkstribunen für das J. 42." And Heitland (*The Roman Republic*, III, 362) declares: "The Assembly dared not elect a candidate disapproved by Caesar."

¹⁰ Cf. also Cic. *de Leg.*, III, 17, 38: *Pontes etiam lex Maria fecit angustos.*

¹¹ Ferrero in his *Greatness and Decline of Rome* (translated by Alfred E. Zimmern, London, 1907), II, 311, cited the passage from Nicolaus along with that from Suetonius, but, of course, the scope of his work did not allow a detailed consideration of the two passages. In Drumann III, 649, the reference to Nicolaus is made, but the discussion of the passage is exactly the same as that in the edition of 1837 (III, 721), where, of course, no citation of Nicolaus could be made.

These two statements in Nicolaus cause additional difficulty in the traditional interpretation of *pons* in the Suetonian passage. The fact that Nicolaus speaks of the appointment of the magistrates (*καθιστάναι*), while Suetonius mentions an election, is easily explained, inasmuch as at this period Caesar's nominees were as a matter of course elected at the comitia; therefore the magistrates were spoken of, without discrimination, as appointed by Caesar¹² or elected by the people. Nicolaus further informs us that Caesar had to cross a certain bridge *καθιστάντα . . . τὰς ἀρχάς*. Obviously he was not thought of as crossing the bridge while appointing the magistrates, but rather while on the way to the election. We have here a clear instance of the use of the present participle expressing purpose, a use found mainly with verbs of motion, to which class of verbs *διέναι* of course belongs. It is for this reason that Müller in the Latin version of Nicolaus translates *καθιστάντα* by *constiturus*. In other words, then, Caesar had to cross a certain bridge on his way to the choice of officers, *i. e.*, on his way to the comitia.

The word *ἀρχαιρεσίαι* at the beginning of the passage from Nicolaus is the Greek equivalent of the Latin *comitia*.¹³ Yet manifestly it is impossible that the attempt to murder Caesar should have been set in the comitia, and at the same time have been planned as he was crossing a bridge on the way to the comitia. On looking at the three discarded plans as described by Nicolaus, one finds that he lays stress on the time set for the deed rather than on the place. As far as the Greek is concerned, it is as natural for *ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαιρεσίαις* to mean "at the time of the election" as "in the comitia," and the former meaning would be in harmony with the emphasis on the time of the projected murder. Indeed *comitiis*, the Latin equivalent, is frequently used in a purely temporal sense.¹⁴ Here, however, the phrase must

¹² See note 9.—Indeed of this very comitia Nicolaus (XXII) says: *καὶ δὴ ἀποδείκνυσι εἰς τὸ ἐπὶ τὸν ὑπάτου, κ.τ.λ.*

¹³ See numerous examples in the *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* of G. Goetz, VI, 236, and in David Magie's *De Romanorum Iuris Publici Sacrique Vocabulis Sollemnibus in Graecum Sermonem Conversis* (1905), 56-7.

¹⁴ Cf. note on Cic. *de Leg.* III, 3, 9, in the edition of Adolph Du Mesnil (Leipzig, 1879), R. Kühner's *Ausführliche Grammatik der Lateinischen Sprache* (1912), II, 1, 355, and the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (s. v. *comitium*), III, 1810.

mean not precisely "while the comitia was being held" but rather, in a general way, "at the time of the comitia." Thus Varro *de Lingua Latina*, VI, 92, tells us how the *classicus* is to give the signal *eo die quo die comitia erunt*, but some time before the *contio* actually assembles (VI, 93). Yet the same author in the same work (V, 91) gives the derivation of *classicus* in the following words: "Classicos a classe, qui item cornuo canunt ut tum cum classes comitiis ad comitiatum vocant." It is apparent that *comitiis* = *eo die quo die comitia erunt*; in other words, *comitiis* means "on the day on which the comitia is later to meet." Another example is found in Val. Max., I, 1, 3: *vitio tabernaculum captum comitiis consularibus*.¹⁵ As *tabernaculum capere* is the technical term for the setting up of the tent for the purpose of taking the auspices and these were taken by the officiating magistrate shortly after midnight, while the meeting was usually held at the following dawn.¹⁶ clearly *comitiis consularibus* here can only mean "at the time of the comitia," and the words really refer to something that happened at least a number of hours before the comitia was actually held.¹⁷

According, therefore, to the argument which has been set forth, the passage under consideration in Nicolaus would be translated as follows: "But others proposed to attack him at the time of the comitia, when he had to cross a certain bridge on his way to the selection of magistrates in the plain before the city, so apportioning the work that some should thrust him from the bridge, and the rest rush upon him and slay him."

But what bridge would he have to cross? To attain certainty on this point is manifestly impossible; one can only balance probabilities. It must be a bridge the crossing of which was unavoidable (ἔδει); moreover were it not, a change of route on Caesar's part would frustrate the whole plan. The bridge was not likely to be one of the well-known bridges over the Tiber; were it the *Pons Sublicius*, for example, one would be inclined

¹⁵ The word is taken as an ablative in the *Thesaurus*, s. v. *comitium* (III, 1810).

¹⁶ Mommsen, *Römische Staatsrecht*, I, 101 and 102, and 102, note 1.

¹⁷ Nicolaus' phraseology in the passage under consideration bears some resemblance to that in chapter V: ἐστράσης δέ τινος ἐορτῆς Λατίνης, ὅποτε καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους εἰς Ἄλβαν τὸ ὄρος ἀναβαίνειν ἔδει, πατρῶν θυσίας ἕνεκα . . .

to expect it to be called ἡ ξυλλίνη γέφυρα as in Appian (*B. C.*, I, 26) and Dio Cassius (XXXVII, 58). Besides, τὸς suggests a bridge over a smaller stream. On the other hand, in going from his residence on the Sacra Via, Caesar would have no reason in the world for crossing the Tiber on his way to the Campus Martius.

Cleopatra was to be sure at Rome from about the summer of 46 to April 44,¹⁸ and was residing in the *horti Caesaris* across the Tiber. If Caesar had been spending his time with her there, he would of course have had to cross one of the Tiber bridges on his way to the Campus Martius. But plots must be made in advance; and how could the conspirators have been certain that at a definite future date, perhaps some weeks off, Caesar would be dwelling with his royal mistress and would actually go to the campus directly from her side? In fact, though she was still in Rome on the Ides of March, Caesar was then living with his wife, Calpurnia, and it was from her side that he went to the meeting of the senate.

If it was not a bridge over the Tiber, what bridge was it then? The answer lies, I think, in Festus, p. 250: "Petronia amnis est in Tiberim perfluens, quam magistratus auspiciato transeunt, cum in campo quid agere volunt." The course of this stream is now generally believed to have been from the western slope of the Quirinal across the Campus Martius to the Tiber; it flowed, therefore, directly across Caesar's path. Besides he was obliged to take the *auspicia peremnia*, or the election to be held would not be valid.¹⁹ The conspirators knowing this were absolutely cer-

¹⁸ Drumann III², 564-5, Ferrero (*The Greatness and Decline of Rome*, translated by Alfred E. Zimmern, London, 1907, and H. J. Chayter, London, 1908), II, 279-80, 283 and 300, and III, 33, Heitland (*The Roman Republic*) III, 349, 377, and 377, note 3. The sources are Cic. *ad. Att.* XIV, 8, 1; XIV, 20, 2; XV, 4, 4, and XV, 15, 2; Suet. *Iul.* 52, 1, Dio 43, 27, 3, and Hier. *Chron. Ol.* 183. 4.

¹⁹ See also Fest. p. 245 (s. v. *peremne*), Paul. Fest. 45 and 251, Cic. *de Nat. Deorum*, II, 3, 9, and Cic. *de Div.*, II, 36, 77.

Kiepert-Hülse, *Formae Urbis Romae Antiquae* (Berlin, 1912²), map I; Hülse, *Rhein. Mus.* 49 (1894), 402; Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*², 225; Valetton, *Mnem.* 18 (1890), 209-211; von Domaszewski, *Archiv für Religionswiss.*, XII (1909), 67 foll.; Jordan-Hülse, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, I, 3, 403 and 472 foll., and I, 1, 267; Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, I³, 97, note 1; Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, I, 156, note 1; Botsford, *Roman Assemblies*, 108.

R. Lanciani (*Topografia di Roma antica; i comentarii di Frontino intorno le acque e gli aquedotti*, p. 15: see also *The Ruins and Excavations of An-*

tain that he would cross the stream. No bridge indeed is mentioned, but surely if it was the regular practice for magistrates to pass over it after taking the *auspicia peremnia*, there must have been a bridge there. Mommsen²⁰ as a matter of course assumes one, even though not at all necessary for the particular argument he is making.

The extremities of this bridge probably overhung the banks, which sloped more or less gently to the stream. And it was on the bank beneath the one or the other end of the bridge, as previously agreed upon, or even in the water, which of course was shallow near the banks, that the conspirators waiting below were to rush upon Caesar when their comrades had thrown him from the bridge.

This then is the account of the plot as given by Nicolaus, together with an attempt to determine where the bridge was. There is in his account nothing inherently improbable. It must be remembered, too, that Nicolaus was a contemporary of Augustus and was born over a century before Suetonius. Indeed the very similarity between the two accounts of these rejected plans for Caesar's murder makes one wonder if Suetonius may not have used Nicolaus as a source at this point.²¹ Plutarch names Nicolaus, and clearly used him either directly as one of his authorities or at second hand.²² Suetonius often indicates his sources vaguely,²³ and Nicolaus may have been one of these. If Nicolaus was not used at first hand, at any rate Suetonius may have employed an author who used the same source. For it is also note-

cient Rome, p. 29) advances a somewhat different theory as to its location; that is, however, quite immaterial to the argument here set forth. It was at any rate a stream that had to be crossed by the presiding magistrate on his way to the comitia, whatever the situation of the stream may have been. The statement in the text, however, is sufficiently general to cover both views.

²⁰ *Röm. Staats.*, F, 97, note 1.

²¹ In spite of the warning of A. Macé (*Essai sur Suetone*, 366), and of the undoubted fact that Suetonius mentions Nicolaus nowhere in the lives of Julius or Augustus, still one cannot help feeling that a connection, direct or indirect, must exist between these two authors. The case has been well presented by O. E. Schmidt, *Jahrb. f. class. Phil.*, Supplementband 13 (1884), 686 foll.

²² *Plut. Brut.* 53: cf. however Hermann Peter, *Die Quellen Plutarchs in den Biographien der Römer* (Halle, 1865), 137, and on the other hand O. E. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 672.

²³ *C. Suetoni Tranquilli Divus Augustus*: E. S. Shuckburgh, xxxii.

worthy that the rumors at Rome that Caesar planned to move the capital either to Ilium or Egypt appear only in Suetonius and Nicolaus,²⁴ though with greater fullness in the latter.

As, therefore, Nicolaus' narrative at this point is quite clear, and as he is earlier by more than a century, and even possibly served as a source for Suetonius, we should not hesitate to accept his version of what the plot really was as compared with Suetonius', if the latter does not in all points harmonize with it. But that discrepancies really exist it is by no means necessary to believe.

Turning now to the passage in Suetonius, let us first consider the meaning of *vocantem*. Scholars who have attempted to interpret the passage without consideration of Nicolaus' account, having taken *pons* as the voting bridge, naturally assumed that *vocare ad suffragia* dealt with that moment in the meeting, at which the *contio* became a *comitia* and the voting actually took place. This is the point in the meeting which is described as follows by Mommsen (*Römisches Staatsrecht*, III, 1, 399):

Alsdann befiehlt der vorsitzende Magistrat selbst kraft seines Imperium den Männern ihr Bürgerrecht auszuüben und schiekt sie zum Stimmen (*in suffragium mittit*); sie aber treten dazu an (*suffragium ineunt*) oder, wie nach dem Aufkommen der schriftlichen Abstimmung gewöhnlich gesagt wird, geben die Stimme ab (*suffragium ferunt*).

The technical terms for describing the actual summons to vote are as follows:²⁵

in suffragium mittere
in suffragium vocare
ad suffragium vocare
ad suffragium ineundum citare
ad suffragia vocare

The last phrasing, however, is found only in the passage under consideration; nowhere else is the use with the plural of *suffragium* cited.

²⁴ Suet. *Iul.* 79, 3 and *Nic. Dam.* XX. See also O. E. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 674 and 686.

²⁵ Mommsen, *Röm. Staats.*, III, 1, 400, note 1, and Liebenam in Pauly-Wissowa, IV, 689.

But on the other hand *vocare* is used many times not of the summons to vote in the comitia, but of the calling together of that body or similar ones. Thus in Varro, *de Lingua Latina*, VI, 86-95, it appears frequently in that sense; we find for example in VI, 93, "ad comitiatum vocatur populus," and in VI, 94, "ut populus inlicitur ad magistratus conspectum, qui viros vocare potest." It must be remembered, too, that these technical terms above cited, dealing with the actual summons to vote in the comitia, usually appear in the midst of accounts of the meetings and are not, as would be the case here, the very first allusion to the meeting that has been made.

If *vocare*, therefore, merely means "to summon," *ad suffragia* would indicate the purpose for which the body is assembled. In other words, *vocare ad suffragia* means simply "to summon for electoral purposes." A fairly close parallel appears in Suet. *Nero*, 44: *tribus urbanas ad sacramentum citavit*. There *ad sacramentum* denotes the purpose for which the tribes were summoned, as *ad suffragia* does here.

An even closer parallel is found in Ampelius' definition of the word *comitia* (48):

de comitiis—comitia dicuntur a comitatu et frequentia, quod patres et classes *ad suffragia vocantur* creandorum magistratum vel sacerdotum causa. . . . si in summo discrimine est, tum miles *ad suffragia vocatur* et comitia centuriata dicuntur.

In short, *ad suffragia vocare* here means "to summon for electoral purposes."

There may, to be sure, have been a special call for the gathering issued in crossing this particular bridge, but as there is apparently no mention of such a summons, we have no right to assume it.

However, *vocare* does not mean simply the first call for the meeting, but is a general expression that includes the whole operation of summoning the body. Indeed in Paul. Fest., p. 50, we find the following definition: *cum populo agere, hoc est populum ad concilium aut comitia vocare*.

In discussing the use of the present tense in Latin (including the participle), Kühner (*Ausführliche Grammatik der Latein-*

ischen Sprache, 1912, II, 1, 120) speaks of it as dealing with "eine solche Handlung, . . . welche zwar noch nicht zu Ende geführt, aber doch begonnen oder in der Ausführung begriffen ist." Among other citations is the following from Nep. *Hannibal*, 2, 3: imperator in Hispaniam proficiscens Iovi hostias immolavit, to which in the edition of 1878 (II, 566) the explanation is added: "d. h., geistig schon mit der Abreise beschäftigt." Examples of this use of the present participle are found in Suet. *Tit.*, 10, *sacrificanti* and *Iul.*, 59, *immolanti*. This is also the use found in *scribens* in Cic. *de Senectute*, 13, if one accepts the interpretation of J. S. Reid ("died while still engaged upon his works") and of Frank Gardner Moore ("i.e., still active with the pen; not literally 'with pen in hand'").

In the same way, then, when Caesar was at the Petronia amnis, while on the way to the place of meeting, he might also be spoken of as *vocans ad contionem*²⁶ or *vocans ad suffragia*. In other words, the comitia was in the state of being summoned from the time of the preliminary call until the body had come to order. Caesar, while crossing the Petronia amnis, was performing part of the technical requirements for the calling of the comitia; he was busied with the summons, he was engaged in the formalities that accompanied the summons, he was doing a part of that which the calling of the comitia necessitated.²⁷

In accordance with the argument presented the passage in Suetonius would be translated thus: "First they hesitated whether, as he was busied with the summons of the tribes in the Campus under the form of the comitia for electoral purposes, they should separate into two groups and while one party hurled him from the bridge the rest should seize and slay him."

This then was the scheme according to Nicolaus and Suetonius. Two parties were to be stationed, the one on the bridge over the Petronia amnis, the other beneath it; while Caesar was crossing it, as he was required to do on his way to the meeting of the comitia in the Campus Martius, those on the bridge were to seize

²⁶ Varro, *de Lingua Latina*, VI, 94.

²⁷ Bremi (*C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vitae XII Imperatorum*, Zürich, 1820) declares: "Allein jene Worte (i.e.; *tribus ad suffragia vocantem*) sollen nur allgemein den *Tag* und den *Anlass* bezeichnen, nicht eigentlich den Moment der Ausführung."

him and throw him down from it, those below to rush upon him and slay him.

In the same way, as Suetonius tells us (*Galba*, 10, 5), an attempt was made to murder Galba while he was on his way to the bath; *per angiportum in balneas transeuntem paene interemerunt*. And Caligula (Suet. *Cal.*, 58, 1) was actually killed in a passage-way that he had to pass through: *in crypta, per quam trans-eundum erat*.

The division of the party into two groups, the one of which was to throw the victim down, while the other waited below to slay him, reminds one of the passage in Suetonius *Tib.*, 62, 2: *carnificinae eius ostenditur locus Capreis, unde damnatos post longa et exquisita tormenta praecipitari coram se in mare iubebat, excipiente²⁸ classiariorum manu et contis atque remis elidente cadavera, ne cui residui spiritus quicquam inesset*.

The attempt was to be made, as we have seen, in all probability, late on the day before the meeting of the comitia, since the auspices for the meeting had to be taken by the presiding magistrate *noctu* (Varro, *de Lingua Latina*, VI, 86)²⁹ at the very place where the meeting was later to be held (*ibid.*, VI, 87), usually at dawn (*ibid.*, VI, 92: *ut in campo cum primo luci adsiet*).

The time of year at which the comitia was held on the way to which it was planned that the assault should be made may be ascertained with a considerable degree of probability. Suetonius, after describing in *Iul.*, 79, the conduct of the tribunes C. Epidius Marullus and L. Caesetius Flavus on the occasion of the *Feriae Latinae* (January 26, 44) and their removal from office, points out (ch. 80) that votes were cast for them at the next consular comitia: *post remotos Caesetium et Marullum tribunos reperta sunt proximis comitiis complura suffragia consules eos declarantium*. Now the annual comitia according to Nicolaus (22) was held after the Lupercalia. This comitia, at which Pansa and Hirtius were elected consuls for 43 B. C., and the very one at

²⁸ It is to be noted that *exceptum* is similarly used in the passage under discussion.

²⁹ Gellius III, 2, 10: *magistratus, quando uno die eis auspicandum est et id, super quo auspicaverunt, agendum, cum post mediam noctem auspicantur et post meridiam solem agunt, auspiciatque esse et egisse eodem die dicuntur*. Cf. Lange I, 557-8, Wissowa (in Pauly-Wissowa) II, 2586, Botsford 110, and Valetton, *Mnem.* 18 (1890), 249-251.

which votes were cast for Flavius and Marullus, occurred therefore after February 15, 44.³⁰ Dio Cassius (XLIV, 11, 4) also places the comitia at which Marullus and Flavius were proposed for the consulship after the Lupercalia.³¹ And it was on the way to this comitia that the conspirators planned to murder Caesar.

To recapitulate briefly, the plan proposed was at the time of the consular comitia, which fell between February 15 and March 15, 44 B. C., to station two parties at the bridge over the Petronia amnis, the one on it and the other beneath it, as it was certain that Caesar must cross this stream. The time of day was probably prior to midnight, as the following dawn was to witness the meeting. When Caesar was upon the bridge, the one party was to hurl him from it (the darkness would aid them), the other to rush upon him and murder him.

The plan was abandoned in favor of the scheme to slay him in the senate,³² and when the precise date of that meeting was set four days before Caesar's projected departure for the Parthian campaign,³³ the conspirators felt that the blow must be struck then and there.

³⁰ Heitland (*The Roman Republic*) III, 363-5, also believes that the comitia at which Hirtius and Pansa were elected was the one at which votes were cast for Marullus and Caesetius; he apparently, however, places this election before the Lupercalia. Casaubon set it either in February or at the beginning of March.

³¹ See note 9. Lange III, 477, and Ferrero II, 311, place the election of Hirtius and Pansa at the beginning of March.

³² Nic. Dam., XXIII.

³³ Appian, *B. C.* II, 111 and 114.

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GREEK ACTING IN THE FIFTH CENTURY

BY

JAMES TURNEY ALLEN

The descriptions of ancient Greek acting contained in the handbooks and in the more or less popular treatises upon the Greek theatre represent an old and nearly uniform tradition. The two chief cornerstones of this tradition appear to be the belief in a narrow, elevated stage, which separated actors from chorus, and the acceptance of a cumbersome tragic costume, which made "violent and impetuous movement a matter of great difficulty."¹ In tragedy, therefore, the actor was "a statue endowed with life and motion,"² "a sort of speaking statue, or at least one who in motion, voice and gesture resembled Aristotle's magnanimous man, whose gait is slow and his voice monotonous and deep."³ He was one in whom there was demanded merely "a fine presence and a good voice," and whose "duty was to speak his lines clearly, musically and with appropriate conventional gesture."⁴ The doctrine is fully expressed by Mantzius:⁵ "That these strangely equipped large figures with their immovable faces, which seemed petrified with suffering, and in their gorgeous splendor, advancing slowly with solemn measured movements, must have produced a powerful romantic impression on the minds of the naïve ancient Greeks we can easily imagine. They must have appeared almost like living images of the gods, and when the people heard the

¹ Haigh, *Attic Theatre*, 3 (1907), p. 277.

² Schlegel, *Lectures on Dramatic Art*, p. 62 (trans. by Black).

³ Campbell, *Guide to Greek Tragedy* (1891), p. 88.

⁴ Sheppard, *Greek Tragedy* (1911), p. 18.

⁵ *History of Theatrical Art* (trans. by v. Cossell, 1903), vol. I, 187.

beautiful, grave words emanating from these walking statues, they were seized with artistic as well as religious enthusiasm."

Upon the long and narrow stage, "ill-adapted for realistic grouping,"⁶ these speaking statues "were arranged in picturesque and striking groups, and the successive scenes in the play presented to the eye of the spectator a series of artistic tableaux,"⁷ while "there could be none of that realistic imitation of ordinary life which is sometimes seen upon the modern stage."⁸ "The groups were practically the representation of a passion, the pathetic movement suspended as if in bas-relief."⁹ "The dramatist flung his creation against the stage with the greatness of some group in marble;—the crowd hung hushed upon the sufferings of an idealized life, charged with the magnificent hugeness of ethical crises, far removed from common experience."¹⁰

Passages of similar import abound,¹¹ and the impression which they leave is that Greek acting in the fifth century was slow and stately, if not awkward, and was restrained and conventional even to the point of unreality. "No action of *any kind* proceeds legitimately on the Grecian stage," wrote De Quincey.¹² "The persons of the drama are always in a reposing state, so long as they are before the audience." The life of Greek tragedy, "removed by a great gulf from the ordinary human life even of kings and heroes," may be "symbolized by the marble life of sculpture, but [is] utterly out of all symmetry and proportion to the realities of that human life which we moderns take up as the basis of our tragic drama."¹³ This "statuesque style of acting" was "the only proper style," "the realistic portrayal of ordinary human passions" being "foreign to the purpose of Greek tragedy."¹⁴

⁶ Sheppard, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁷ Haigh, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁹ Watt, *Attic and Elizabethan Tragedy*, 1908, p. 27.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹¹ To name only a few: Schlegel, *op. cit.* (1808), p. 62 ff.; Sommerbrodt, *Scaenica* (1858), p. 233; De Quincey, *Theory of Gk. Tragedy* (1840), *passim*; Schönborn, *Die Skene der Hellenen* (1858), p. 40 f.; Müller, A., *Griech. Bühnenalt.* (1886), p. 196 f.; Oemichen, *Bühnenwesen* (1890), p. 290 f.; Sittl, *Gebärden der Griech. und Römern* (1890), p. 200 f.; Müller, A., *Das griech. Drama* (1908), p. 4 f.; Ward, *Drama, Encyclop. Brit.*, 11th ed. (1910), vol. VIII, p. 493; Hamilton, C., *Studies in Stagecraft* (1914), p. 36.

¹² *Op. cit.* (Masson's ed. of De Quincey, vol. X), p. 350.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

¹⁴ Haigh, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

And that this represents very well the prevailing popular conception I have no doubt.

The first serious blow to this conception was dealt by Dörpfeld, whose contention, based upon archaeological evidence, that the Greek theatre had no stage¹⁵ is so overwhelmingly supported also by the internal evidence of the dramas themselves¹⁶ as to compel acceptance, at least for the classical period. And even the most recalcitrant of the advocates of a stage (with the probable exception of Puchstein,¹⁷ whose views on dramatic technique, however, were wholly without value) agree that actors and chorus could and on occasion did mingle freely one with the other.¹⁸ Thus with one stroke the first of the chief cornerstones of the popular tradition was loosened, and by repeated blows has been thrust from its place; while the other was shattered by the discovery that the high-soled tragic boot was a contraption of the Roman period, and was not in use in the days of Aeschylus and Euripides.¹⁹ For, as I pointed out in a previous paper,²⁰ with the stilt-like boot must go also the enormous mask, whose "huge mouth gaped upon the audience,"²¹ the "chest-pads and the stomach-pads" and all the rest of the miserable paraphernalia of the tragic costume of the decadent period.

Instead, then, of the hideous monstrosities portrayed on the tomb of Numitorius²² or represented by the Rieti statuette,²³

¹⁵ Letter in Müller's *Bühnenalt.* (1886), p. 415 f., *Das griech. Theater* (1896); numerous articles in *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, *Athen. Mitt.*, *Jahrb. d. deutsch. Arch. Inst.*, etc. One ought perhaps to give some credit also to Dörpfeld's forerunners, as Höpken, *De Theatro Attico* (1884), but these lacked the archaeological evidence which Dörpfeld presented.

¹⁶ Wilamowitz, "Die Bühne des Aischylos," *Hermes* XXI (1886), 607 ff.; White, "Stage in Aristophanes," *Harv. Studies*, II (1891), p. 159 ff.; Capps, "Greek Stage accord. to the Extant Dramas," *Trans. Amer. Phil. Assoc.*, XXII (1891), p. 5 ff.; Pickard, "Relative Position of Actors and Chorus, etc.," *Amer. Journ. Phil.*, XIV (1893), 68 ff., 198 ff., 273 ff.; and others.

¹⁷ *Die griech. Bühne* (1901).

¹⁸ Haigh, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

¹⁹ Smith, K. K., "Use of the High-soled Shoe or Buskin in Greek Tragedy," *Harv. Studies*, XVI (1905), p. 123 ff.; Bieber, *Das Dresdener Schauspielertief* (1907); Körte, "Der Kothurn in fünften Jahrhundert," *Festschr. zu 49 Versamml. deutsch. Phil. u. Schulm. in Basel*, 1907, p. 198 ff.

²⁰ "On the Costume of the Greek Tragic Actor in the Fifth Century, B.C.," *Class. Quarterly*, I (1907), p. 226 ff.

²¹ Lucian, *De Salt.*, § 27.

²² *Jahresh. d. Oesterr. Arch. Inst.*, VIII (1905), p. 205; Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

²³ Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, III, p. 1576.

the lovely votive-relief from the Peiraeus²⁴ and the figures on the Andromeda vase²⁵ and the equally famous Satyr²⁶ vase afford the best evidence we possess regarding the tragic actor's appearance at about the beginning of the fourth century. His costume, instead of being an encumbrance and a restraint, as is commonly alleged, allowed him abundant freedom and ease of movement. He could run, dance, climb, kneel, creep, fall and rise again unassisted—all of which actions have a place in the extant plays.

Moreover, as this costume did not aggrandize the actor's figure, as the tragic costume of the decadent period certainly did, the actors appeared on the scene with the stature and figure of ordinary men. And this, I believe, was true not only of those who represented men and women, but also of those who impersonated the gods. The Greeks, we remember, lived on terms of peculiar intimacy with their divinities. In Homer the gods and goddesses appear repeatedly in the guise of human beings, and in Greek vase-painting they are regularly represented as men and women both in figure and in size. The same holds true also of comedy, the best example, perhaps, being that of Dionysus and Xanthias in the *Frogs*. Of great significance, too, is the curious tale which Herodotus tells about Peisistratus and the tall and comely Phyë, who dressed in the panoply and costume of Athena rode at the side of the would-be tyrant and received the worship of the people. This tale is the more interesting and significant when we observe that the woman who impersonated the goddess was only about five feet, ten inches in height.²⁷

To be sure, this fraud of Peisistratus was perpetrated in the middle of the sixth century, and perhaps would not have succeeded had it been attempted an hundred years later. But that the Greek conception of the gods continued for many hundreds of years to be *thoroughly* anthropomorphic is illustrated by the experience of Paul and Barnabas, as related in the fourteenth chapter of *Acts*, when the people shouted: "The gods in human

²⁴ Robert, *Athen. Mitt.*, VII (1882), Taf. XIV; Studniczka, *Mélanges Perrot* (1903), p. 307 ff., etc.

²⁵ Bethe, *Jahrb. d. deutsch. Arch. Inst.*, XI (1896), Taf. II.

²⁶ Baumeister, *op. cit.*, Taf. V (422).

²⁷ Herod., I, 60 (μέγας ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πήχων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους). The story has been doubted by Beloch, *Rh. Mus.*, XLV (1890), p. 470.

form have come down to us," and the priest of Zeus brought bulls and garlands, and wished to offer sacrifice to them together with the multitude. The cry of Paul: "Men, why are ye doing these things? We also are men of like passions with you," sweeps us back at a stroke to the days of the Phaeacians, and to Alcinous suggesting that Odysseus might be "some deathless god come down from heaven." Whereat Odysseus exclaimed: "Alcinous, that thought be far from thee. For I bear no likeness either in form or fashion to the deathless gods."²⁸

When now we turn to Greek tragedy we find, it seems to me, precisely the same attitude toward the divinities. In the trial-scene of the *Eumenides*, for example, Apollo, who appears as the advocate for Orestes, cuts but a sorry figure; in neither his speech nor his bearing does his divinity betray itself, and he closes his pleading with an appeal to the self-interest of Athena, the president of the court, as shamelessly as an human advocate might do. Athena as presiding officer naturally conducts herself with greater dignity, but throughout the play there is little to distinguish the "gods" from the human beings. So in the *Prometheus Bound*, although all the characters are of divine origin, Prometheus alone is portrayed in a manner worthy of a god. All of the other characters, both in speech and bearing, are but human creatures. Father Ocean is a well-intentioned, but self-satisfied and pusillanimous old gentleman; Hermes is but a blustering herald; while the chorus of nymphs, who in their curiosity and haste left home unsandalled, are altogether the most charming of Aeschylus' women.

Of the extant plays of Aeschylus these are the only two in which divine beings appear, and of these divine creatures Prometheus alone approximates the true greatness and majesty of a god. Yet there is no hint that even he was represented as a creature of superhuman stature. The probability is that he was not.²⁹ With the possible exception of Prometheus and of the blood-thirsty Furies who constitute the chorus in the *Eumenides*, all of the characters who people the Aeschylean stage, as known to us through the extant plays at least, are *human* through and

²⁸ *Odyssey*, VII. 208. (Trans. by Butcher and Lang).

²⁹ I wish to add my name to the list of those who oppose the theory of a "lay-figure" in the *Prometheus*.

through. Yet this fact has been repeatedly obscured in Aeschylean criticism. Listen, for example, to Schlegel: "The cothornus of Aeschylus has, as it were, the weight of iron; gigantic figures stalk in upon it. It seems as if it required an effort for him to condescend to paint mere men; he is ever bringing in gods, but especially the Titans, those elder divinities who typify the gloomy powers of *primaeval* nature. . . . He endeavors to swell out his language to a gigantic sublimity, corresponding to the vast dimensions of his personages."³⁰ This was written an hundred years ago, but much of more recent comment sounds like a mere echo of Schlegel's judgment, as when Sir George Young writes: "Among the playwrights he [Aeschylus] is the statuary in whose workshop are hewn out Gods, Titans, and heroic men and women, effigies possessed of speech and almost of life, but practically incapable of action. . . . [In Sophocles] the recitation of Aeschylus starts into life as drama; the Aeschylean personages with their sonorous ventriloquism give place to flesh and blood."³¹ Or again, Mahaffy: "The whole scenery [of the *Prometheus*], laid in the Scythian deserts beyond the Euxine, among gloomy cliffs and caverns, with no interests upon the scene save those of the gods and their colossal conflicts, is weird and wild beyond comparison."³²

Carried away by the power and magnificence of the Aeschylean *language*, critics have ascribed a similar stateliness and magnificence to the Aeschylean *actor*. Yet the theatre in which Aeschylus presented his plays was simple in the extreme, as Dörpfeld proved, and, although equipped with stage properties, was practically without scenery. "There is more depth and more breadth," remarks Professor Brander Matthews,³³ "in the masterpieces of Sophocles, of Shakspeare and of Molière than can be apprehended at once when the plays are performed before us. It may even be acknowledged frankly that there is a possible diminution of stature and even a vague vulgarization, almost unavoidable, in any bodying forth by flesh-and-blood actors of the characters created by the poet's towering imagination." This is precisely the point, and applies *a fortiori* to the conditions of

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

³¹ *Translation of Sophocles*, p. x.

³² *History of Greek Literature*, I, p. 259.

³³ *Shakspeare as a Playwright* (1915), p. 17.

dramatic representation for which Aeschylus conceived and wrote his superb tragedies.

Perhaps I seem to have wandered from my course. But the bearing of these remarks is to emphasize the fact that actors in the fifth century were indeed "flesh-and-blood" actors, and that the plays were presented not with stupendous magnificence and on a scale of Titanic grandeur, but in a simple and natural manner—yes, even with a simplicity that to the modern eye would doubtless appear primitive and crude. How utterly mistaken and misleading, then, the judgment of De Quincey when he characterized Greek tragedy as being "ultra-human and Titanic!" "That figure," he says,³⁴ "so noble, that voice so profound—proclaim a being elevated above the ordinary human scale. . . . Shakespeare's tragic life is our own life exalted and selected; the Greek tragic life presupposed another life, the spectator's, thrown into relief before it. The tragedy was projected upon the eye from a vast profundity in the rear; and between this life and the spectator, however near its phantasmagoria might advance to him, was still an immeasurable gulf of shadows."

But De Quincey did not comprehend the true nature of Greek tragedy, just as he and, like him, all the nineteenth century did not understand the conditions of Greek dramatic representation. The use of the mask was an especial stumbling-block. "Shakespeare," he wrote,³⁵ "postulates the intense life of flesh and blood—breathing, waking, stirring, palpitating with the pulses of hope and fear. In Greek tragedy the very *masks* show the utter impossibility of these tempests or conflicts. . . . Medea, the most tragic figure in the Greek scene, passes through no flux and reflux of passion, through no convulsions of jealousy on the one hand, or maternal love on the other. All that is supposed to have passed out of the spectator's presence. The dire conflict no more exhibits itself scenically and *coram populo* than the murder of her two innocent children. Were it possible that it should, how could the *mask* be justified?"

No passage in De Quincey better illustrates the blinding power of an obsession. For De Quincey and his contemporaries believed

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 347.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 348.

that the huge mask of the days of Lucian was already in vogue in the fifth century. Today we know better. The use of the mask did not spring from a desire to aggrandize the human features, but was a religious convention inherited from the sixth century. "The unexaggerated human features," wrote De Quincey, "would have been seen as in a remote perspective, and besides, have had their expression lost."³⁶ So indeed they would and did. And the fifth century mask likewise, if one may judge of it from the Peiraeus relief,³⁷ must have had its expression lost in a theatre the size of that at Athens. It follows, therefore, that the restraint imposed by the mask upon Greek acting in the classical period has been greatly exaggerated. Except for a few favored spectators, the play of facial expression, had the mask not been worn or if it were indeed merely a "make-up,"³⁸ must have remained for the most part unseen in so vast an auditorium. This is certainly true in the Greek theatre at Berkeley, which is only half the size of the Dionysiac theatre at Athens. While even in our modern small playhouses not all the spectators can discern the actor's features with the unaided eye. For the majority of the audience, then, in the period before the huge mask came into vogue in tragedy, the presence or absence of the mask could have little, if any, influence upon the emotional effect of the acting.

Let us remind ourselves, further, that the ancient Greeks were a people whose emotions were easily stirred,³⁹ and that with them, as among the Greeks today, gesticulation was both free and expressive. It follows almost necessarily that their acting was characterized by easy and natural gestures, and that even emotional acting had a place, probably a large place, in their

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 346.

³⁷ If the Peiraeus relief dates from the beginning of the fourth century, as many believe that it does (see Studniczka, *Mélanges Perrot* (1903), p. 307 ff.), the arguments advanced by Professor Capps (*Amer. Journ. Arch.*, X (1895), p. 496 f.) against the use of the mask in the fifth century lose much of their force. Professor Capps' conclusions were accepted by Dr. Kelley Rees, *So-Called Rule of Three Actors* (1908), pp. 47, 51. Hense's discussion of the whole question is highly unsatisfactory (*Die Modifizierung der Maske in der griech. Tragödie*² (1905). Better, but still unsatisfactory, is Girard's "De l'expression des masques dans Eschyle," *Rev. des Etudes Grecques*, VII (1894), p. 1 ff., 337 ff., VIII (1895), p. 38 ff.

³⁸ See the previous note.

³⁹ There are some good observations on this subject in Sittl's "Ueber die Gerberden der Alten," *Verh. d. 39 Versamml. d. deutsch. Phil. und Schulf. in Zurich* (1887), p. 44 ff.

theatre. Indeed, it was an ancient Greek critic who wrote: "Whatever is unemotional is essentially undramatic;"⁴⁰ and the plays abound in situations that demand an emotional expression. The theatre rings with the cries of Philoctetes as he limps slowly, painfully from his cave down to the level of the shore; and at last overcome by the pain he falls in a swoon at the feet of Neoptolemus. Later in the play, when Philoctetes is deprived of his bow and is left deserted, fierce passion consumes his soul and finally dies down in the ashes of sorrow and despair. Even Euripides affords no more pathetic figure than the Philoctetes of Sophocles. And let us remember that Aeschylus also wrote a *Philoctetes*. Then there is the frenzied Cassandra flinging from her the emblems of her office and stamping them under foot in the agony of her soul; the aged nurse weeping bitterly for her lost Orestes; the priestess staggering, crawling from the shrine where she has seen the Furies; the blinded Polymnestor stumbling and groping on hands and knees; Hippolytus dying in agony in his father's arms; Electra joyfully embracing her long-lost brother until he is forced to exclaim: "Restrain thyself! For joy lose not thy wits!";⁴¹ the blinded Oedipus; the raving Agave exulting over the death of her son whose head she swings in her hand, believing in her frenzy that it is a lion's head she holds.

But why multiply instances? The Greek plays were written for a vivacious, sensitive, highly emotional folk, and these qualities must have found a place in the dramatic presentation as well as in the written text; not of Euripides and Aristophanes only, but of Aeschylus and Sophocles as well.

This, however, has not been the universal opinion. Some have held that in the days of Aeschylus acting was characterized by a severe dignity and repose, and that only gradually did a more vehement manner come into vogue. So Arnold,⁴² who divided the history of Greek acting into periods, of which the first was characterized as that of the *ideal* manner "zur Zeit des Aischylos und Sophokles, für welche edle Ruhe und Würde in Stellungen und

⁴⁰ Demetrius, *De Eloquentia*, § 194 (πάνω δὲ τὸ ἀπαθὲς ἀνυπόκριτον), trans. by Roberts.

⁴¹ *Choeph.*, 233.

⁴² *Schauspieler und Schauspielkunst*, in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 1576. Compare also Sittl, *Gebärden der Griech. und Römern* (1890), p. 200.

Bewegungen charakteristisch war." But that the old actor Mynniscus was wont to call his younger contemporary Callipides a monkey⁴³ is hardly sufficient warrant for so important a classification; nor yet that Demetrius when mentioning action on the stage cites only a play of Euripides:⁴⁴ "Take, for instance, the case of Ion in Euripides, who seizes his bow and threatens the swan. . . . Many opportunities of movement are offered to the actor by Ion's rush for his bow and arrows, by his face upturned to the sky as he addresses the swan, and by the rest of the detail contrived to aid the actor."

The dramas of Aeschylus, if not also of Sophocles, are replete with scenes far more vigorous and thrilling than any in the *Ion*, as is observed by Bethe,⁴⁵ who after citing a number of instances from Aeschylus and especially that of the aged priestess in the *Eumenides* as she staggers and crawls on hands and knees from the shrine, remarks: "Dergleichen kommt in den späteren Tragödien nicht mehr vor. . . . Solche krass realistischen Züge sind archaisch," comparable to the sculptures of the west gable of the Zeus temple at Olympia portraying the strife of the Lapiths and Centaurs, or, I should add, to the sculptures of the temple of Aphaea on Aegina, or to the Discobolus of Myron.⁴⁶

If these contentions be true, the popular conception of Greek acting in the days of the great poets is fundamentally at fault. With actors and chorus all of normal human size and all together on the same level there arose countless situations that made possible, contrary to the prevailing opinion, "a realistic imitation of ordinary life": in the *Suppliants* of Aeschylus the daughters of Danaus and their handmaidens struggling in terror against the

⁴³ Aristotle, *Poetics* 26. 1461 b, 34.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, § 195, trans. by Roberts.

⁴⁵ *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Altertum* (1896), p. 324 f.

⁴⁶ See further my "Romantic Aeschylus," *Univ. California Chronicle*, Jan., 1915, p. 55 ff., apropos of which Professor John L. Myres, in a letter dated at Oxford March 12, 1915, writes: "Curiously enough, only a day or two ago, I was discussing with a friend the very same subject of the kinship of Aeschylus with Euripides, and the remoteness of Sophocles from both. I ventured to characterize Aeschylus as an originator in revolt against sixth century conventions, and Euripides as in revolt against the canonical work of the middle of the fifth century represented by Sophocles and in sculpture by the Pheidian school. And it is in this sense that Aeschylus is rightly the pendant to Euripides in the *Frogs*, while Sophocles stands *hors concours*. But note that even Aristophanes does not propose to bring Sophocles up again; he was already 'classical' in the conventional sense."

attacks of the herald and his attendants, who seize the girls by the hair and are about to drag them to the ship when the king enters with his bodyguard and puts an end to the strife; in the *Seven against Thebes* the king Eteocles addressing the crowd of soldiers and other citizens, urging them to show themselves men and to defend their city; in the *Agamemnon* the chorus of elders drawing their swords and advancing to engage in battle with Aegisthus and his bodyguard; and earlier in the same play, the triumphal return of Agamemnon with chariots, soldiers, captives and booty-bearers; in the *Acharnians* the company of soot-stained charcoal-burners of Acharnae pelting Dicaeopolis with stones and hemming him about to prevent his escape.

Such situations and scenes abound, and moreover we must realize that in these situations the groups are seen from three sides and have depth and mobility, precisely as on the Shakespearian stage. In other words, actors and chorus are capable of becoming and frequently do become a single unit, a single homogeneous group. And if, in conclusion, we accept, as we are compelled in the main to accept, the contention of Professor Kelley Rees that the three-actor rule did not obtain in the fifth century, but arose in the period of the *technitai*,⁴⁷ and his further contention that the convention regarding right and left entrances likewise first came into vogue in the hellenistic period,⁴⁸ Greek tragic acting, at least in the fifth century, was not the stupidly conventional affair that it has often been imagined to be. Not that acting in that period was in all respects like acting today. It certainly was not. For one thing the rhythm of the verse played a far more important rôle then than now. Perhaps in many of its aspects we should be inclined to pronounce their acting crude and unsatisfactory. But that it was human and humanly appealing, simple, direct and natural is no longer a matter of doubt.

⁴⁷ *The So-Called Rule of Three Actors in Classical Greek Drama* (1908).

⁴⁸ "Significance of the Parodoi in the Greek Theatre," *Amer. Journ. Phil.*, XXXII (1911), p. 377 ff.

ON TERENCE, ADELPHOE 511-516

BY

CLINTON C. CONRAD

On v. 511 of the *Adelphoe* we find in the commentary ascribed to Donatus the words (W. II 107): *Hi sex uersus in quibusdam* [i.e., *exemplaribus*¹] *non feruntur*, with evident reference to *Ad.* 511-516. Kauer in his edition of the *Adelphoe* (1903), departing from the practice of previous editors of this play, bracketed these lines, defending his course by the arguments summarized below (pp. 296 f.). He has considered them chiefly in relation to their immediate context. A study conducted on somewhat broader lines will show, I believe, that this scene is essential to the integrity of the play, and at the same time exhibit certain features of the dramatic technique of the Roman playwrights.

Kauer's deletion of these verses is in some degree based upon the passage in the commentary, cited above, which notes their omission in some of the manuscripts available to the scholiast and known to us only through him. Accordingly we must first of all inquire into the value of the scholiast's comment.

The so-called commentary of Donatus is admittedly the work of several hands, differing in their age and in the value of their work. While numerous attempts have been made to distinguish the actual work of Donatus,² no one of these has been generally accepted. We are immediately concerned with the passages in

¹ Cf. *ad And.* 978 (W. I 260); *ad And.* 601 (W. II 124).

² See Wessner's brief bibliographical notes (ed. *Donati Commentum* [1902], I praef. iii ff.); the more extended discussion of Sabbadini, *Stud. Ital.*, II (1894), 4 ff.; Karsten, *Commenti Donatiani ad Terenti fabulas scholia genuina et spuria probabiliter separare conatus est* [auctor], vol. I-II (1912-13).

the commentary which deal with textual criticism. These fall into several categories, acceptably defined by Smutny,³ ranging from the suggestion of a variant reading without critical opinion⁴ to the denial of the authenticity of the final scene of the *Andria*.⁵ We have no objective evidence which can enable us to decide whether this portion of the commentary is the work of a single scholiast, Donatus or another, or compiled from marginal notes by various hands. The general character of these scholia points to the latter conclusion and leads to a certain distrust of this scholiastic comment.

In this connection it is interesting to note that various scholars in this field have concluded that certain of the passages which indicate the omission of one or more verses in manuscripts available to the scholiast⁶ are not to be attributed to Donatus. Smutny (*loc. cit.*, p. 132) considers that "horum scholorum color et stilus ita comparati sunt, ut temporibus Donati aetate recentioribus scripta esse videantur." Wessner⁷ makes the following comment on the scholium *ad Ad.* 601 (W. II 124):

Dass das Scholion zu Vers 601 von Donat oder gar erst von dem Kompilator unseres Kommentars herrühre ist unwahrscheinlich, weil alle unsere Hss die Erweiterung haben, so dass sie schon in der gemeinsamen Quelle vorhanden gewesen sein muss; dahin führt auch der Umstand, dass sowohl Arusianus Messius wie Priscian zwei Stellen aus der betreffenden Partie zitieren. Wahrscheinlich geht die Notiz zu Probus zurück, der Hss mit und ohne Vers 602-609 zur Verfügung hatte; vielleicht war gerade in seinen 'exemplaria bona' der Einschub vorhanden, so dass er ihn nicht auszumerzen wagte, aber andererseits wollte er auch nicht unterlassen, auf das Fehlen in zahlreichen Hss hinzuweisen. Liess Probus die zweifelhafte Partie stehen, so ist es erklärlich, dass sie auch in der gesamten späteren Überlieferung erscheint, wenn anders unser Terentztext auf die Aufgabe des Probus zurückzuführen ist. (Leo, *Plaut. Forsch.*, 34 f. [ed. 2, 36 f.])

³ *De scholiorum Terentianorum quae sub Donati nomine feruntur auctoribus et fontibus*, Diss. phil. Vind., VI (1898), 132. Those passages of Donatus in which textual variants are found are catalogued by Umpfenbach (ed. Terence [1870], praef. xl f.).

⁴ E.g., *ad And.* 459 (W. I 157): 'Ut dixit, Lesbia' et 'dixit' et 'dixisti' legitur.

⁵ *Ad And.* 978 (W. I 260): 'Tu Daue abi domum' hi uersus usque ad illum 'gnatam tibi meam Philumenam uxorem' negantur Terentii esse adeo, ut in plurimis exemplaribus bonis non inferantur.

⁶ Such passages are: *ad And.* 978 (W. I 260); *ad Ad.* 511 (W. II 107); *ad Ad.* 601 (W. II 124); *ad Ad.* 706 (W. II 142).

⁷ *Berl. phil. Woch.*, XXIII (1903), 222.

This raises the perplexing question: Why is it that our present manuscript tradition shows no trace of the omission of passages noted in the commentary as lacking in some manuscripts then available? This question naturally cannot be assigned a definite solution. Wessner's treatment of it can hardly be considered final, resting as it does upon Leo's disputed views concerning Probus' part in the formation of the text of Terence. The possibility of corruption through fairly simple paleographical error is ever present. On *Ad.* 601 Leo considered that the lines questioned by the scholiast (in his opinion vv. 601–603; better vv. 602–604, as Wessner suggests [*loc. cit.*]) dropped out because of the homoeoteleuton of vv. 601 and 604.⁸ In the case of *Ad.* 511–516 this short scene may have been separated by a space from the preceding and following scenes, as in most extant manuscripts. In this event the eye of the scribe may well have passed to the second space instead of the first, upon reaching v. 510, with the resultant omission of these six verses. Such an error, multiplied by the production of several copies from the faulty manuscript, might be rectified in the course of time.

Finally, the attitude of the scholiast toward the omitted verses (*Ad.* 511–516) should be noted. It is distinctly non-committal, to say the least. With it we may contrast his denial of the authenticity of the *alter exitus* of the *Andria* (cited above, p. 292, n. 5), a passage now considered spurious by scholars, and also his comment on *Ad.* 601 (W. II 124): *Et sane hi uersus de<esse pos>sunt, quos multa exemplaria non habent 'nam . . . releuabis' et deinceps.* We should remark in passing that, save in the case of the *Andria*, modern scholars have not generally accepted the evidence of the scholiast's unknown manuscripts against the established tradition.⁹

It follows that we are freed from the necessity of considering the scholium on *Ad.* 511–516 as part of a textual commentary to which, as a whole, definite value may be assigned because of readings from manuscripts not now extant; that we may base

⁸ *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, III (1882), 359.

⁹ Possibly we should except *Ad.* 602 ff., in view of Wessner's article thereon (*loc. cit.*). Kauer's somewhat improbable interpretation of the scholium (ed. *Adelphoe*, 180 ff.) is apparently withdrawn (*ibid.*, 210) in consideration of Wessner's views.

no positive conclusions on the scholiast's non-committal statement in regard to his *quaedam exemplaria*; that, as a consequence, we must rely upon internal evidence alone in our further discussion.

The conclusion of the scholiast's note on *Ad.* 511 indicates uncertainty on his part as to the interpretation of the scene in question: *In hac scaena uidetur iam locutae Sostratae Hegio respondere. potest tamen et ipse incipere, tamquam qui et rem nouerit et maerore eius moueatur.* We may best encounter this difficulty by a careful consideration of the general outlines of the plot.

The *Adelphoe* exhibits the conflicting educational theories of the brothers Demea and Micio. The latter, grown rich, has relieved his poverty-stricken brother of the care of Aeschinus, one of two sons, exacting a promise that he shall be free from interference in the rearing of his foster-child. So Aeschinus becomes the sophisticated product of city life, indulged in his fancies and given a free rein by Micio, to an extent which provokes the indignation of the scandalized Demea. No such errors have been introduced into the pedagogical theories of the latter. Ctesipho, the remaining son, has been forced to practice the frugal virtues of rural life; yet the ever-present contrast between his lot and that of his brother has finally brought him to revolt. Smitten by the charms of a slave-girl, he seeks the aid of Aeschinus. On the day presented in the play the latter abducts the girl from her master's house, with Ctesipho of course the beneficiary by this transaction. Demea, properly shocked on hearing of this affair, reproaches Micio for his share in Aeschinus' wild ways, quite unaware of Ctesipho's part in the escapade. Yet his suspicions become aroused and he is searching for Ctesipho when his friend Hegio appears. From him Demea learns of another blot on Aeschinus' checkered past. The latter has wronged Hegio's protégée, Pamphila, and has promised to marry her. As appears later, he is deeply in love and postpones the wedding for fear of Micio's displeasure over what seems a *mésalliance*. But the tale of the abduction has spread abroad and the girl's mother, Sostrata, has called in alarm for the aid of Hegio, as the girl's nearest kinsman. He in turn pleads for Demea's intercession in

this matter which so nearly concerns the latter's good name. Demea declares (v. 499, 505) that he will find Micio and do his best to maintain the family honor. Thereupon Hegio enters Sostrata's house, leaving Demea alone upon the stage (v. 506). The next four lines (vv. 507–510) are occupied by Demea's exit monologue as he goes to the forum in search of his brother. In v. 511 Hegio reappears from Sostrata's door, announces his intention of searching for Micio, and leaves the stage (v. 516). It is with this brief scene and the close of the preceding one that we are concerned.

- 499 DE. fratrem conueniam, Hegio.
 500 HE. sed, Demea, hoc tu facito cum animo cogites:
 quam uos facillume agitis, quam estis maxume
 potentes dites fortunati nobiles,
 tam maxume uos aequo animo aequa noscere
 oportet, si uos uoltis perhiberi probos.
 505 DE, redito: fient quae fieri aequomst omnia.
 HE. decet te facere. Geta, duc me intro ad Sostratam.
 DE. non me indicente haec fiunt: utinam hic sit modo
 defunctum! uerum nimia illaec licentia
 profecto euadet in aliquod magnum malum.
 510 ibo ac requiram fratrem, ut in eum haec euomam.

HEGIO

- Bono animo fac sis, Sostrata, et istam quod potes
 fac consolere. ego Micionem, si apud forumst,
 conueniam atque ut res gestast narrabo ordine:
 si est, is facturus ut sit officium suom,
 515 faciat; sin aliter de hac re est eius sententia,
 respondeat mi, ut quid agam quam primum sciam.

The scholiast's perplexity over this scene arose from a misconception of the treatment of time by the Roman playwrights. As Kauer concludes, there is no need for a pause after v. 510.¹⁰ Verses 511–516 are clearly associated with the preceding scene (Demea's long conversation with Hegio [vv. 447–510]), forming with it a unit in the action which could not conceivably be interrupted by more than a momentary and insignificant pause. The exit monologue of Demea (vv. 507–510) is inserted partly to cover his walk to the forum exit, partly to preserve the continu-

¹⁰ See Conrad, *The Technique of Continuous Action in Roman Comedy* (Collegiate Press, Menasha, Wis., 1915), 64.

ity of the action in allowing *dramatic* time for Hegio's stay within and his conversation with Sostrata. The brief time actually allotted to this is to be explained by Terence's disregard of realistic conditions in his treatment of time relations. Convention demanded merely the indication of off-stage action. Thus the duration of a person's absence from the stage depended not so much upon the character of the off-stage action in which he was concerned as upon the convenience of the playwright and the nature of the material with which the interval might be filled.¹¹ Here Demea's perfunctory lines (vv. 507-510) were evidently considered sufficient to cover Hegio's absence within. The latter in his speech at re-entrance is simply ending his off-stage conversation with Sostrata.

This technique, whereby an entering person carries on a one-sided dialogue with one who is still within the house, conveys the desired information to the audience while preserving the dramatic illusion as the soliloquy does not. So in vv. 635 f. of this same play Micio, stepping out from Sostrata's door, addresses her before turning to Aeschinus: *Ita ut dixi, Sostrata, facite; ego Aeschinum conueniam, ut quo modo acta haec sint sciat*; and, leaving her house a second time, tells her (v. 787): *Parata a nobis sunt, ita ut dixi, Sostrata*. Similar passages occur frequently in the plays of both Plautus and Terence. Mysis (*And.* 228 ff.) in quasi-dialogue with her fellow-slave imparts to the audience full knowledge of the errand upon which she is sent; in like fashion Clitipho (*Heaut.* 175 ff.) informs the spectators of Clinia's presence within his father's house.¹² The extended use of this technique surely renders our interpretation of Hegio's speech inevitable.

We may now consider the arguments upon which Kauer bases his rejection of the scene (*loc. cit.*, p. 175 f.). He thinks that the verses are the result of interpolation of a very early date, thus admitting that they need no defense in point of style or metre. In his opinion the passage was added to bring the later

¹¹ *Ibid.*, chapter I.

¹² Cf. *Phorm.* 51; *Hec.* 623 ff.; *Merc.* 562; *Miles* 156 ff., 596 ff.; *Bac.* 178 ff., 526 ff., etc. In Menander's *Epitrepontes* (vv. 213 ff. K.) and *Samia* (vv. 86 ff. K.) we apparently may observe the same technique in modified form, used to lend animation to the scene rather than to give information to the spectators (cf. *Aul.* 250 f.).

scene (vv. 592 ff.), in which Hegio returns from the forum with Micio, into harmony with the one ending (v. 510) with Hegio's exit into Sostrata's house. The original scene-ending, he believes, resembled that of *Phorm.* 311 ff. (discussed below, pp. 301 f.). Deletion seems to him the only remedy; a pause at v. 510 would hardly improve matters.

The passage is obviously built up in somewhat hackneyed fashion about one bit of information, Hegio's intention to find Micio in the forum; and in this Kauer discovers a direct contradiction to the foregoing scene:

Denn während Hegio sieben Verse vorher noch damit einverstanden ist, dass Demea seinen Bruder aufsucht und sich damit zufrieden gibt (V. 506), kündigt er hier seine Absicht an, den Micio aufzusuchen, als ob die Unterredung mit Demea gar nicht vorhergegangen wäre.

Kauer also concludes that the hackneyed character of the verses is a mark of interpolation. Yet it is equally the sign of the padded scene which fills its place in the economy of the play while giving small opportunity, in many instances at least, for original treatment or the display of stylistic merit. Similar or analogous passages are numerous, in which the dramatist's chief concern is in the framework of the plot. For example, Parmeno's superfluous monologue on the situation (*Hec.* 327–335) separates Pamphilus' exit from Sostrata's entrance, prepares for the latter's entrance, and preserves the continuity of the action.¹³ Similarly, in *Ad.* 587–591 Syrus' monologue separates the exit of Demea from the entrance of Micio, for whom Demea is searching. In a passage closely paralleling *Ad.* 511–516, Simo in *And.* 524–532 prefixes consideration of the situation to a declaration of intended action (cf. *Men.* 876–881). In *Rud.* 892–905 Plautus' technique is particularly crude: Daemones is hurried on and off the stage with the very obvious purpose of introducing Gripus; a few words on the situation link this scene to the foregoing action. In *Eun.* 997–1001 Parmeno's doleful comment allows time for the developments within described by Pythias (vv. 1002 ff.); in the absence of Phaedria from the scene (*Eun.* 664–667) the continuity of the action is preserved by the excla-

¹³ Cf. *Aul.* 803–807; *Pseud.* 1052–1062, 1238–1245.

mations of Pythias and Dorias. Similarly, in *Ad.* 783–786 Syrus covers Demea's absence from the stage with superfluous comment on the action.¹⁴ The *choragus* scene (*Curc.* 462–486) bridges over the gap left by Cureulio's stay within the house of Capadox with quite irrelevant matter.¹⁵ So in a multitude of passages unessential or even irrelevant material is incorporated, that the framework of the plot may not be unduly exposed. Accordingly I can find in Kauer's objection no valid reason for casting suspicion upon Hegio's brief speech. The playwright, yielding to the requirements of the situation, is simply filling in an essential scene in somewhat perfunctory fashion. Kauer's arguments must accordingly fall to the ground if we can account for the direct contradiction which he finds with the foregoing verses and supply a purpose for this scene which will put it in accord with the usual technique of New Comedy.

I am unable to feel the force of this "direct contradiction." According to Kauer's interpretation of the action, Hegio's acceptance of Demea's offer to put the case before Micio is quite inconsistent with Hegio's words to Sostrata (vv. 512 f.). Yet it is Hegio who actually submits his grievance to Micio, after a consultation with Sostrata in which she may well have urged him to do so. His words as he enters with Micio (vv. 592 ff.) are sufficient proof that he has not considered his responsibility ended with the winning of Demea to his cause. Nothing said by him as he is waved aside by Demea conflicts with this tacit determination to carry the case through while availing himself of Demea's help. That he does not mention Demea in vv. 511–516 is due, in part at least, to Terence's desire to avoid wearying his audience by needless repetition,¹⁶ especially as these verses merely sum up a longer off-stage conversation with Sostrata. In a like manner Terence does not see fit to give a detailed account of Micio's conversations with Sostrata, but prefers to trust

¹⁴ Cf. *Bac.* 795–798, 913–924; *Cas.* 424–436; *Curc.* 527–532; *And.* 716–720.

¹⁵ So, in less degree, *Merc.* 678–680; *Aul.* 587–607; *Capt.* 461–497; *Pseud.* 767–789, on which note Prescott, *Harv. Stud.*, XXI (1910), 39–44.

¹⁶ Cf. *Poen.* 920 ff.:

Ibo intro haec ut meo ero memorem: nam huc si ante aedis euocem,
 quae audiistis modo, nunc si eadem hic iterum iterem, inscitias.
 ero uni potius intus ero odio quam hic sim uobis omnibus.

See also *Pseud.* 387 f., 720 ff.; *Merc.* 1005 ff.

to the imagination of his audience (vv. 635 f., 787 f.). Thus the course of the action resolves Kauer's difficulty.

The dramatic purpose of Hegio's exit is revealed by the subsequent action. Demea, misled by a lying slave, is the blundering hero of a comic minor plot which holds him in unsuccessful search for Micio until v. 719. Meanwhile Hegio meets Micio and settles the whole affair (vv. 592 ff.). Clearly Demea's course diverges from that of Hegio: the one must not find Micio, the other must. The dramatist accordingly separates them at the end of their scene (vv. 447–506). So Hegio enters Sostrata's house to reassure her, while Demea departs for the forum.

This provides sufficient reason for Hegio's separate exit. His subsequent re-entrance from Sostrata's door complies with an established convention of New Comedy: a retiring actor must return from the place to which he has announced his intention of going (providing that he takes part in the subsequent action), or explain the change in his plans which has caused him to re-enter from an unexpected quarter. Kauer conceives that an interpolator, wiser than Terence in his knowledge of dramatic structure, introduced the scene in question to avoid breaking this rule. Spengel¹⁷ and later editors, on the other hand, have considered that this convention affords sufficient reason for the introduction of the scene and consequently sufficient proof of its authenticity. The actual practice of the Roman playwrights in this regard may best be examined by considering in some detail the alleged violations of this convention.¹⁸

It should be borne in mind that the poet's chief concern is to present a smoothly progressing, well-outlined plot; the purpose of the convention stated above is to avoid bewildering the spectators. Several of the passages cited by Fielitz and Rambo are only apparent exceptions to this rule, for in these passages the poet cannot possibly mislead his audience. In *Curc.* 524

¹⁷ Ed. *Adelphoe* (1875) *ad loc.*

¹⁸ Such violations have been listed by Fielitz, *Fleck. Jahrbuch* (1868), 676, n. 4; Kauer, *Wien. Stud.*, XXI (1901), 103 and n. 1; Rambo, *Class. Phil.*, X (1915), 414 ff. In the last-mentioned article the following comment is appended (415, n. 1): "The explanation of such passages probably lies in the fact that houses on the stage are sometimes thought of as having an entrance in the rear (cf. *Epid.* 660, *Most.* 1043 ff.), which persons in the play use as shortcuts; or the inconsistencies may be due to the carelessness of Plautus and Terence in not giving information."

Curculio leaves with Planesium *peregre*, in accordance with his story. Yet the audience knows that he is conducting the girl to Phaedromus and feels no surprise upon seeing him re-enter with her (v. 591) from Phaedromus' house. In the *Adelphoe*, Canthara leaves the stage to summon a midwife to attend Pamphila (v. 354). She does not reappear upon the stage, yet we may suppose the midwife present at the birth, in v. 486. The reason for her failure to re-enter is plain: no dramatic purpose would be served by her reappearance.¹⁹ Yet her errand is essential to the plot, for she meets Aeschinus in the forum (v. 617) and acquaints him with Sostrata's suspicions. Accordingly I object to Kauer's citing of Canthara's failure to return to the stage as an instance where "in der Ökonomie des Stückes nicht alles bis auf das Genaueste klappte" (*loc. cit.*, 103, n. 1). Terence's mastery of dramatic technique is exhibited in the omission of the unessential scene of Canthara's return.

But in *Bac.* 769 we should expect Chrysalus to meet Nicobulus returning from the forum (cf. *Pseud.* 1063, and see Legrand, *Daos* [1910], 453 and n. 3), for he left *ad forum* in v. 348. Yet, owing to Plautus' carelessness, to all appearances, Nicobulus re-enters from his house. In *Asin.* 126 Demaenetus leaves *ad forum*; in v. 741 we are told that he is within the house, and the playwright is at some pains to explain that he came there by way of the *angiportus* (vv. 741 ff.).²⁰ We are accordingly somewhat surprised to find Argyrippus leaving *ad forum* in v. 248 and reappearing from Cleareta's house in v. 591, without explanation other than Libanus' mere statement (v. 329); *Maior [erus] apud forumst, minor [i.e., Argyrippus] est intus*. Langen has recorded the devices by which various editors have ineffectually sought to remedy the situation.²¹ To my mind this confirms Havet's theory²² that Diabolus, not Argyrippus, appears in vv. 127-248 (to Havet's argument, as Ahrens observes, should

¹⁹ In somewhat similar fashion the *amici* fail to reappear after *Eud.* 159. Contrast the situation in the *Andria*, where the return of Lesbia and Mysis (v. 459) is a necessary part of the structure of the play.

²⁰ Compare Stephanium's explanation of her entrance from Epignomus' door (*Stich.* 674 ff.).

²¹ *Berl. Stud.*, V (1886), 100 f.

²² *Rev. phil.*, XXIX (1905), 94 ff.; *contra*, Ahrens, *De Plauti Asinaria* (1907), 13 ff.

be added the appearance of ARGYRIPPUS for DIABOLUS in the scene-headings of *BE*). If we accept Havet's view, Diabolus leaves *ad forum* in v. 248 and re-enters from the same quarter in v. 746. Thus the convention stated above is not violated.

Somewhat akin to these passages are the following. On *Trin.* 1120 Rambo (*loc. cit.*, p. 415, n. 1) notes: "Lysiteles, who had entered from a house on the stage, says that he has just met Stasimus, who had gone *ad portum*." In v. 716 Lysiteles left Lesbianicus, but we are not informed in what direction he went. That he re-entered from his house (apparently on the stage, cf. vv. 275 ff.) is questionable; the only ground for this opinion is in v. 1120, *modo me Stasimus Lesbianici seruos convenit <domi>*, where the missing end of the line is filled out by Ritschl. Accepting this emendation, we must again attribute the difficulty of Plautus' carelessness, induced perhaps by the desire to keep the action from lagging in the concluding scenes of the play. In *Poen.* 808 Agorastocles enters his house, reappearing from it in v. 961, although he is spoken of as *in foro* by his slave in v. 929. The passage last cited is somewhat inconsistent with v. 920, however, and the difficulty is best solved with Weise and later critics by bracketing vv. 923–929 as the work of a retractator.

It is to be noted that Terence overrides the re-entry convention in no single instance. Plautus may be guilty of carelessness in this regard, but never, I believe, to such an extent as to perplex the spectator. It follows that we have no right to assume that Terence deviates from this rule in the passage of the *Adelphoe* under consideration.

His strict adherence to the convention is excellently illustrated in *Phorm.* 311 ff., with which, in Kauer's opinion, the scene-ending at *Ad.* 510 may have originally corresponded.²³ Here Demipho closes his scene with Phaedria and Geta with the following monologue:

Ego deos penatis hinc salutatum domum
deuortar; inde ibo ad forum atque aliquod mihi
amicos aduocabo ad hanc rem qui adsient,
ut ne inparatus sim si ueniat Phormio.

²³ *Loc. cit.*, 175: "Ursprünglich konnte es wohl hier ebenso sein, wie im *Phormio* [311–314]."

I know of no exact parallel to this scene in New Comedy; its curious abruptness suggests a condensation of the Greek original. Yet in point of dramatic structure it may be advantageously compared with our scene in the *Adelphoe*. The purpose of the verses is plain: Demipho after entering his house is to re-enter from the forum with his *advocati*, and this must be made clear to the audience in accordance with the convention which we have discussed above. Narration is substituted for the usual dramatic representation of departure and the spectators assume that Demipho leaves his house by a convenient rear door. The question naturally arises: Why does not Demipho omit his greeting of the household gods and leave at once for the forum? This admits of no definite solution. It may be that this greeting of the gods is a realistic detail slipped in to conform to the social usage of the day, but the similar greeting of *Merc.* 678-680 is so obviously employed for purely dramatic purposes that it is reasonable to expect a similar use here. It seems probable, therefore, that the playwright wished to separate the exits of Geta and Demipho. Then, if Terence intended no essential pause at v. 314, Geta's re-entrance with Phormio (v. 315) would be separated from his exit (v. 310) by Demipho's brief monologue, and the continuity of the action would be preserved with greater plausibility than if Geta disappeared only to reappear immediately, with no intervening action on the stage.²⁴

In *Ad.* 511-516 the same end is achieved through the dramatic representation of Hegio's departure, with a decided gain over the crudity of the *Phormio* passage. It is impossible to deny that Terence might have reverted to the technique of his earlier play in effecting Hegio's exit. Yet Kauer's supposition to this effect, if followed to its logical conclusion, would postulate a remodeling of the lines preceding v. 511 or following v. 592; for the definite announcement of Demipho's plans is the most striking thing about the *Phormio* scene-ending, and if we exclude vv. 511-516 from the present text of the *Adelphoe* this announcement is not paralleled by any statement of Hegio's intended departure for the forum. There is not the slightest evidence for such a remodeling of the play. Consequently one would be tak-

²⁴ Note *Technique of Continuous Action*, 55 f.

ing unwarrantable liberties with the text in bracketing vv. 511–516 on the mere suspicion that Terence actually modeled the scene-ending at v. 510 on that of *Phorm.* 311 ff.

Thus the lines in question (vv. 511–516) find a necessary place in the economy of the play, justified by a reasonable interpretation of the action and by their accordance with well established principles of technique, and the suspicion of interpolation rests upon no sound basis of internal evidence. It matters not whether Donatus or another recorded the absence of these verses from certain of his manuscripts. Our discussion has shown this scene to be essential in the structure of the play.

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INDEX*

- Adjective, The Separation of the Attributive, from its Substantive, in Plautus*, 151-164.
- Adjective, separations of, in Plautus, due to conscious art, 153; to metrical convenience, 156; substantive use of, in Corpus Tibullianum, 174, 205.
- Adverbs, comparatives of, 116.
- Aeschylus, dramaturgy of, 283.
- Alcaeus, glyconic verses in, 258-9.
- Alexander, W. H., Some Textual Criticisms on the Eighth Book of the De Vita Caesarum of Suetonius, 1-33.
- Allen, J. T., Greek Acting in the Fifth Century, 279-289.
- Alliteration, in Plautus, 155, 157.
- Anacreon, glyconic verses in, 258-9.
- Apis, 88, 89, 90, 91; identity with Osiris, 91.
- Apis, The Egyptian, and Epaphos*, 81-92.
- Apuleius, and Lucretius, Latinity of, 113.
- Archetype of Lucretius, The*, 227-235.
- Artemidorus, edition of 'Οαριστός of Theocritus, 166.
- Asymmetry, in Lucretius, 96.
- Autronius, connection with conspiracy of 66-65 B.C., 49.
- Bentley's canon for genitives in -ii, 76.
- Birthday prayers alluded to in Corpus Tibullianum, 221.
- Boar, as vine destroyer, 30.
- Boissier, views on conspiracy at Rome, 66-65 B.C., 43.
- Buttmann, cited, 84.
- Caesar, connection with conspiracy of 66-65 B.C., 47; attitude in consular campaign of 64 B.C., 54.
- Caesar, The Plot to Murder, on the Bridge*, 267-278.
- Catiline, at special election in 66 B.C., 46; connection with conspiracy of 66 B.C., 47, 49; conspiracy of, in 63-62 B.C., part of larger movement, 48.
- Catullus, glyconic verses in, 258-9; Phalaecean verse of, 261.
- Cethegus, connection with conspiracy of 66-65 B.C., 49.
- Chatelain's archetype of Lucretius, 231.
- Cicero, contempt for Epicurean doctrines, 36, 42; as witness to the conspiracy in 66-65 B.C., 44.
- Cicero's Knowledge of Lucretius's Poem*, 35-42.
- Clapp, E. B., The 'Οαριστός of Theocritus, 151-171.
- Cleopatra, 272.
- Comitia centuriata, presiding magistrate at, 268.
- Conjunctions, trajection of, 189, 202, 203.
- Conrad, C. C., On Terence, *Adelphoe* 511-516, 291-303.
- Conspiracy, The, at Rome in 66-65 B.C.*, 43-55.
- Corpus Tibullianum, Notes on the Text of*, 173-226.
- Corpus Tibullianum, substantive use of adjectives in dative singular, 174, in the vocative case, 205; elision of *mi* in, 176; trajection of conjunction of subordinate clause, 189, 202; certain causes of errors in MS reading, 194, 216, 217; allusion to birthday prayers, 221; generalizations in, 225. *See also* Lygdamus, and Tibullus.
- Crassus, connection with conspiracy of 66-65 B.C., 49, 51; attitude in consular campaign of 64 B.C., 54.
- Cretic adjective, at verse-end, 156, 167.
- Curetes, in Epaphos legends, 83, 87, 90, 91.
- Dative with *parce* frequently omitted in Tibullus, 193.
- Derivation theory of metres, 260, 264.
- Deubner, L., cited, 87.
- Deutsch, M. E., Notes on the Text of the Corpus Tibullianum, 173; The Plot to Murder Caesar on the Bridge, 267.
- Diaeresis, bucolic, in the *Οαριστός* of Theocritus, 167.
- Domitian, children of, 26.
- Elision of monosyllable in Corpus Tibullianum, 176.

* Univ. Calif. Publ. Class. Phil., vol. 2.

Index

- Enclitic, separation of adjectives from substantive by, 158.
- Epaphos, legends of, 82, 83, 85, 86; as epithet of Zeus, 85; Euboean origin of myth, 85; as epithet of Hera, 89.
- Epaphos and the Egyptian Apis*, 81-92.
- Epicurean philosophy, Cicero's acquaintance with, 37; sources of our knowledge of, in Cicero, 42.
- Escorial codex, 269.
- Euboea, connection with myth of Epaphos, 85, 86, 87, 90.
- Euripides, glyconic verses in, 258-9.
- Flavius, L., Caesetius, 277.
- Gellius, L., attempt to enlist in conspiracy of 66-65 B.C., 53.
- Genitive (contracted) in -i in Latin, 57; uncontracted, in -ii, list, 65; words having only the contracted form, 68; convenience of certain forms in -i, 68; usage of authors for genitives in -i and -ii, 70; theory of the grammarians, 74; Bentley's canon, 76.
- Glyconics, Greek and Latin, 257-265.
- Greek Acting in the Fifth Century*, 279-289.
- Greek acting, De Quincey on, 280, 285; gestures in, 286. *See also* Tragedy.
- Gruppe, cited, 88.
- Hapi. *See* Apis.
- Hera, in Epaphos legends, 83.
- Herodotus, effort to reconcile theologies of Egypt and Greece, 81; identification of Egyptian divinities with Greek, 82.
- Horace, glyconic verses in, 258-9.
- Horti Caesaris, 272.
- Iambic adjective, at verse-end, 156.
- Infinitive of purpose, 124.
- Io, in Epaphos legends, 83, 86; identification with Isis, 86, 87, 89.
- Keep, W. L., *The Separation of the Attributive Adjective from its Substantive in Plautus*, 151.
- Lachmann's archetype of Lucretius, 227, 232.
- Libya, daughter of Epaphos, 83.
- Linforth, I. M., Epaphos and the Egyptian Apis, 81.
- Lucretius, asymmetry in, 96; use of adjectives, for adverbs, 97, with the wrong noun, 107; dislike of feminine forms of genitive plural, 97, 116; forms of adverbs in, 105, 108, 116; *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα* in, 108; alliteration in, 108; Latinity of, 113; accusative of Greek words used by, 130; hypallage in, 149.
- Lucretius, The Archetype of*, 227-235.
- Lucretius, Corruption in the Manuscripts of*, 237.
- Lucretius, Proposed Emendations of*, 255-256.
- Lucretius, Studies in the Text of*, 93-150.
- Lucretius's Poem, Cicero's Knowledge of*, 35-42.
- Lupercalia, 277, 278.
- Maass, cited, 84.
- Marullus, C. Epidius, 277.
- Memphis, wife of Epaphos, 83.
- Memphis, Egypt, 89.
- Merrill, W. A., Cicero's Knowledge of Lucretius's Poem, 35; On the Contracted Genitive in -i in Latin, 57; Studies in the Text of Lucretius, 93; The Archetype of Lucretius, 227; Corruption in the Manuscripts of Lucretius, 237; Proposed Emendations of Lucretius, 255.
- Messalla, M. Valerius, relationship to Sulpicia, 226.
- Metra derivata. *See* Derivation theory.
- Müller, H. D., cited, 84.
- Natalis, coupling of appeal to, and prayer for progeny, 200.
- Nicolaus of Damascus, *Bios Kalasapos* 267; as a source for Suetonius, 273.
- Nutting, H. C., *The Conspiracy at Rome 66-65 B.C.*, 43.
- ᾽Οαριστός The, of Theocritus*, 165-171.
- Osiris, identification with Apis, 91.
- Petronia amnis, 272, 276.
- Phalaecean verse of Catullus, 261.
- Piso, Cn., command in Spain *extra ordinem*, 53.
- Plautus, The Separation of the Attributive Adjective from its Substantive in*, 151-164.
- Plautus, alliteration in, 155, 157; stage technique of, 297, 301.
- Plutarch, 273.
- Pons sublicius, 271.
- Pons suffragiorum, 268.

Index

- Pyrrhic (adjective) at verse-end, 156.
- Richardson, L. J., Greek and Latin Glyconics, 257.
- Sallust, as evidence for conspiracy of 66-65 B.C., 44, 47.
- Sappho, glyconic verses in, 258-9.
- Set, identification with Greek Typhon, 91.
- Sittius, P., of Nuceria, connection with conspiracy of 66-65 B.C., 54.
- Sophocles, glyconic verses in, 258-9.
- Subordinate clause, words of, preceding words of main clause in Corpus Tibullianum, 189; not dependent, in Corpus Tibullianum, on clause immediately preceding, 220.
- Seutonius, *De Vita Caesarum, Some Textual Criticisms on*, 1-33; relationship among MSS of, 4; length of line in MS P, 21; as witness for conspiracy of 66-65 B.C., 45.
- Suffragium, technical terms for summons to vote, 274.
- Sulla, P., connection with conspiracy of 66-65 B.C., 49.
- Sulpicia, relationship to Messalla, 226.
- Tense, present, in Latin, 275.
- Terence, *Adelphoe* 511-516, 291, 295; Donatus' commentary on, 291; Wessner cited on scholium *ad Ad.* 601, 292; discussion of Kauer's edition, 291-303; opinion of scholiast, 293; stage technique of, 295-303; comparison of passage with Phormio 311 ff., 301.
- Terence, treatment of time relations, 296.
- Theocritus, The 'Οαρσιός of, 165-171; bucolic diaeresis in, 167; Daphnis in, 168; coarseness in, 170.
- Tiber, bridges over, 271.
- Tibullus, use of unus, 174; position of est in pentameter of elegies, 182; dative with parce frequently omitted in, 193; incorrect division of words, 194, 216; parenthetical expressions in, 194; repetitions in, 194; trajection of conjunctions in, 202.
- Titans, in Epaphos legends, 83.
- Tragedy, Greek costume in, 281; the mask, 285; representation of Greek gods, 283.
- Trajection of conjunctions in Tibullus, 202.
- Typhon, identification with Set, 91.
- Vargunteius, connection with conspiracy of 66-65 B.C., 49.
- Vocative in -is of Greek words, 205.
- Zeus, in Epaphos legends, 83; Zeus Epaphos, 85.

INDEX LOCORUM

- Ampelius 48, 275.
- C. I. L. i. 1202. 1220. 161.
- Cicero. *Academica* i. 27, 37; ii. 19. 79-82. 88. 105. 120. 121, 37.
- Cato Maior 83, 41.
- De Divinatione i. 17-20, 40; 97, 41; ii. 44, 41; 49, 41.
- Ad Familiares v. 16. 2-4, 41; 21. 4-5, 41; vii. 12. 2, 41.
- De Fato, sects. 18, 21 and 46, 41.
- De Finibus i. 14, 37; 49. 57. 60, 38; ii. 100. 102. 112, 38.
- De Inventione 2, 36.
- De Natura Deorum i. 56. 108, 40; ii. 6. 127, 40.
- De Officiis i. 158, 41; ii. 41, 41; 73. 102, 41.
- In Pisonem 59, 36.
- Pro Sestio 91, 36.
- Tusculans i. 5, 38; 10-11. 48. 52. 79. 83. 91. 93. 108, 39; ii. 7, 39; iii. 56, 39; iv. 75, 39; v. 5. 97, 40.
- Corpus Tibullianum i. 2. 88, 174; 5. 76, 178; 6. 7, 183; 9. 25, 187; 10. 37, 191; ii. 2. 17-22, 195; 3. 61. 201; 4. 43, 206; 5. 47, 210; iii. 6. 3, 214; 12 (iv. 6). 19-20, 217; 14 (iv. 8). 5-6, 223.
- Festus 250, 272.
- Lucretius. i. 71, 95, 126; 111, 95; 126, 255; 207, 96; 240, 96; 257, 96; 469, 255; 491, 255; 585, 96; 611, 96; 683, 97; 709, 255; 711. 747, 97; 752, 255; 775, 98; 777, 255; 784. 1076. 1082. 1091, 98; 1105, 99.

Index

- ii. 43, 255; 46, 99; 105, 255; 112, 99; 114, 255; 160, 99; 181, 255; 193, 268, 99; 289, 313, 325, 100; 343, 347, 101; 356, 453, 483, 255; 533, 536, 102; 547, 255; 586, 102; 630, 673, 696, 255; 742, 759, 103; 760, 765, 806, 104; 814, 815, 105; 850, 106; 854, 874, 903, 255; 909, 106; 919, 926, 255; 929, 107; 941, 255; 1000, 1029, 107; 1080, 1089, 255; 1102, 108; 1116, 109; 1120, 1168, 255.
- iii. 11, 58, 84, 256; 94, 109; 173, 306, 319, 335, 365, 394, 493, 504, 617, 620, 256; 633, 110; 710, 732, 111; 740, 112; 790, 256; 800, 112; 852, 256; 856, 113; 876, 256; 893, 114; 935, 256; 941, 954, 114; 962, 992, 256; 994, 1044, 115; 1061, 256; 1069, 116.
- iv. 71, 77, 79, 91, 256; 101, 116; 104, 117; 117, 256; 143, 117; 146, 166, 178, 256; 270, 284, 118; 290, 321, 256; 324, 395, 119; 437, 120; 440, 472, 121; 479, 486, 122; 490-493, 123; 545, 256; 567, 123; 579, 124; 594, 611, 256; 615, 124; 638, 712, 752, 125; 755, 1022, 126; 1222, 1244, 127.
- v. 34, 116, 127; 175, 191, 396, 128; 429, 491, 560, 129; 589, 705, 761, 839, 130; 844, 852, 885, 925, 131; 934, 944, 989, 132; 1020, 1035, 1058, 133; 1067, 1076, 134; 1085, 1096, 1099, 135; 1152, 1214, 136; 1225, 137; 1254, 1273, 138; 1325, 138, 139; 1400, 1442, 139.
- vi. 28, 129, 140; 131, 141; 296, 324, 365, 142; 428, 429, 447, 143; 452, 144; 454, 600, 624, 145; 848, 870, 146; 899, 908, 1007, 1012, 147; 1059, 1064, 1069, 148; 1109, 1264, 149; 1271, 150.
- Lygdamus iii. 6, 3, 214.
Naevius, *Incert. Fab.* 1, 156.
Persius 5, 188, 78.
Plautus, *Amph.* 6, 154; 8, 163; 9, 163 note 48; 14, 162; 34, 159; 119, 161, 162 note 45; 122, 163; 137, 155; 144, 157; 153, 163; 189, 161; 190, 161 note 39, 163; 204, 155; 260, 157; 280, 157, 157 note 23; 328, 160; 385, 163; 430, 157; 431, 157; 471, 154; 475, 155; 481, 154; 484, 159; 490, 161; 506, 159; 524, 157; 525, 158 note 27; 605, 155; 616, 153, 160; 782, 157; 785, 160, 160 note 37, 161 note 39; 863, 154; 875, 154; 926, 159 note 28; 948, 157; 959, 164; 976, 155; 996, 153, 158; 1054, 159; 1088, 161 note 39; 1090, 159; 1105, 153; 1116, 155; 1140, 161 note 39.
- Asin.* 34, 161 note 39; 50, 164; 54, 140, 161; 55, 158; 69, 158 note 27; 142, 155; 143, 163; 199, 161; 204, 163; 236, 163; 277, 156; 311, 154; 471, 160; 511, 159; 520, 162; 545, 156; 575, 160; 598, 164; 599, 154; 695, 161; 726, 159; 762, 160; 763, 162; 775, 163; 776, 157; 858, 156; 918, 159 note 28; 947, 162.
- Aut.* 2, 159; 28, 162; 49, 154, 154 note 7; 66, 162, 162 note 45; 171, 157; 191, 161; 192, 160; 235, 159; 285, 162; 291, 78; 313, 161 note 39; 324, 158 note 27; 340, 158 note 27; 461, 162; 462, 162, 162 note 45; 482, 158 note 27; 485, 163; 525, 156 note 21, 157; 587, 162; 595, 161 note 39; 606, 158; 621-22, 163 note 48; 622, 163; 626, 157; 630, 161; 667, 162; 767, 163; 791, 119.
- Bacch.* 55, 158 note 27; 71, 161 note 39; 74, 159; 94, 157; 120, 159; 131, 78; 187, 155; 198, 154; 202, 162; 229, 154; 256, 154; 351, 152, 155; 370, 161; 373, 163; 420, 154; 422, 161; 427, 77; 446, 161 note 39; 490, 155, 161 note 38; 507, 161; 513, 161; 552, 163; 566, 161, 161 note 40; 570, 159 note 28; 585, 154; 590, 161 note 39; 651, 77; 672, 162; 675, 157; 692, 161; 707, 105; 719, 163; 761, 155; 777, 119; 782, 160; 785, 161; 838, 160; 911, 163; 913, 158 note 27; 926, 160; 975, 164; 988, 156; 999, 160; 1009, 154; 1018, 156 note 21, 157; 1022, 158; 1141, 158 note 27.
- Capt.* 27, 155; 56, 160; 64, 154; 104, 159; 105, 154; 123, 158; 169, 157; 185, 154, 154 note 12; 202, 162; 246, 160; 248, 119, 258, 163; 311, 160; 326, 163; 333, 155, 160 note 37;

Index

- 355, 158 note 27; 427, 159; 442, 160; 476, 161 note 39; 518, 163; 539, 159 note 28; 554, 163; 610, 163; 722, 161 note 39; 774, 155; 775, 157; 780, 161 note 39; 821, 162; 859, 158 note 27; 861, 158 note 27; 862, 161; 897, 163; 901, 157; 914, 155; 918, 161; 946, 157; 952, 155; 999, 162; 1033, 163.
- Cas. 6*, 161 note 39; 9, 163; 13, 154; 258, 157; 264, 159 note 28; 332, 160; 469, 161 note 39; 511, 119, 161 note 39; 537, 161; 558, 161; 584, 158; 623, 79; 639, 163; 710, 164; 761, 78.
- Cist. 6*, 160; 7, 161; 80, 159; 98, 160; 103, 164; 128, 160; 157, 154; 231, 155; 232, 161 note 39; 369, 158 note 27; 492, 159; 502, 79; 505, 158; 522, 158; 587, 154; 631, 164; 653, 163; 660, 159; 670, 158 note 27; 701, 161 note 39; 749, 152, 154; 778, 159 note 28.
- Cure. 15*, 159; 35, 161; 49, 159; 68, 157; 156, 110; 189, 159; 200, 154; 205, 157; 221, 154; 227, 154; 239, 156 note 21, 157; 334, 162; 439, 157; 442, 160; 470, 163; 499, 159; 501, 159; 533, 155; 537, 161 note 39; 660, 157; 668, 160; 709, 154.
- Epid. 18*, 154; 21, 158; 104, 164; 107, 158; 159, 157; 163, 159; 180, 159; 192, 159; 229, 158; 299, 159 note 28; 302, 158; 306, 155; 397, 160; 415, 152, 159; 425, 159; 557, 158; 602, 157; 669, 158; 675, 159; 693, 158 note 27; 715, 159.
- Frag. fab. inc. vii*, 158 note 27.
- Frivolaria vii*, 155.
- Men. 1*, 154; 4, 155; 6, 156 note 21, 157; 38, 157; 58, 156 note 21, 157; 67, 156 note 21; 67, 157; 73, 161 note 39; 94, 159; 102, 156 note 21, 157; 135, 77; 167, 163, 163 note 50; 199, 158; 201, 163; 231, 155; 232, 161; 240, 154; 274, 155; 436, 157; 447, 155; 485, 153; 506, 162; 520, 154; 551, 158; 594, 162; 595, 157; 765, 78; 771, 78; 802, 163; 817, 155; 828, 161 note 39; 845, 157; 858, 161; 906, 159; 908, 158; 1000, 160; 1013, 160, 160 note 33; 1018, 77; 1030, 78; 1087, 159; 1088, 157; 1149, 162.
- Merc. 21*, 154; 35, 162; 41, 161; 49, 158 note 27; 112, 162, 162 note 47; 139, 164; 141, 158 note 27; 193, 157; 292, 164; 363, 156; 378, 159; 398, 155; 442, 160, 160 note 33; 477, 158 note 27; 507, 163; 521, 160; 547, 162; 567, 160; 632, 157; 710, 162; 771, 158; 811, 156 note 21, 157; 847, 155; 859, 160; 890, 159; 920, 163; 966, 159; 969, 159; 999, 158; 1022, 153, 161.
- Mil. 21*, 158 note 27; 49, 159; 68, 159; 75, 157; 90, 78; 198, 155; 211, 153, 157; 228, 155, 160 note 37, 163; 309, 155; 313, 164; 364, 159; 423, 79; 456, 161; 547, 161 note 39; 591, 162; 662, 163; 665, 159; 682, 159; 711, 159; 717, 154; 731, 158 note 27; 733, 158; 734, 155; 751, 159 note 28; 763, 160; 774, 155; 778, 156; 865, 77; 1034, 78; 1177, 157; 1178, 157, 161; 1179, 161; 1210, 157; 1264, 162; 1282, 160.
- Most. 15*, 162; 27, 163; 45, 155; 176, 159; 193, 111; 195, 163; 251, 159; 280, 162; 357, 163; 361, 156 note 21, 157; 371, 158 note 27; 396, 159; 404, 157; 409, 163; 466, 158; 531, 158; 532, 158 note 27; 564, 159; 576, 159; 589, 163; 621, 156 note 21, 157; 657, 160; 673, 161; 763, 159 note 28; 779, 158 note 27; 782, 159; 808, 155; 811, 162; 828, 156 note 21, 157; 836, 163; 839, 163; 841, 164; 899, 163; 904, 78; 913, 157; 1110, 160; 1122, 161; 1141, 161 note 39.
- Pers. 35*, 164; 63, 161; 74, 161; 75, 157; 93, 157; 97, 157; 113, 159; 115, 161; 193, 159; 238, 158 note 27; 243, 159; 292, 158 note 27; 313, 160; 474, 162; 480, 161 note 39; 512, 156 note 21, 157; 515, 162; 516, 159; 546, 160; 547, 159; 559, 156; 565, 159 note 28; 571, 157, 157 note 24; 571—573, 154 note 9; 573, 154; 683, 154; 695, 162; 773, 164; 780, 163; 830, 159.

Index

- Poen. 5, 162; 10, 159; 15, 162; 33, 158; 45, 159; 75, 158 note 27; 139, 156 note 21, 157; 177, 158; 200, 159; 208, 163; 301, 163; 308, 155; 317, 158 note 27; 331, 160; 362, 155; 379, 155, 155 note 15, 162 note 44; 407, 156; 439, 161; 449, 164; 450, 163; 451, 162; 508, 158; 522, 156; 524, 162; 568, 162; 575, 162; 584, 159; 602, 163; 651, 156 note 21, 157; 657, 158; 683, 163; 687, 163; 704, 157; 705, 156 note 21, 157; 708, 156 note 21, 157; 726, 157; 746, 155; 759, 155; 806, 163; 842, 157; 895, 159 note 28; 901, 160; 915, 161; 918, 78; 964, 160; 968, 156; 978, 160; 991, 155; 1026, 161; 1051, 162; 1055, 164; 1080, 154; 1125, 154; 1164, 155; 1245, 156; 1258, 160; 1285, 79; 1369, 162; 1370, 159.
- Ps. 17, 160; 28, 160; 69, 158 note 21; 72, 154; 80, 156 note 21, 157; 100, 156 note 21, 157; 146, 157; 158, 155; 228, 159 note 28; 268, 159; 270, 157; 303, 157; 312, 161 note 39; 329, 158 note 27; 333, 162; 369, 156; 424, 156 note 21, 157; 474, 158 note 27; 492, 158; 545, 158; 548, 155; 580, 119; 584, 158 note 27; 590, 158 note 27; 628, 152, 155; 694, 154; 704, 155; 706, 157; 729, 159 note 28; 732, 155; 752, 163; 761, 156; 766, 157; 767, 155, 156 note 21, 157; 782, 159; 791, 159; 893, 155; 897, 157; 968, 158 note 27; 972, 163; 974, 158; 992, 160; 1017, 158; 1025, 159; 1056, 159; 1167, 154; 1200, 158 note 27; 1223, 161 note 39; 1232, 155.
- Rud. 39, 157; 40, 157; 42, 154; 69, 157; 70, 156 note 21, 157; 84, 157; 87, 156; 100, 155; 101, 156; 144, 159; 167, 159; 303, 158 note 27; 305, 155; 311, 162; 319, 79; 325, 161; 352, 164; 358, 164; 396, 164; 400, 163; 402, 162; 406, 163; 476, 158 note 27; 500, 163; 511, 152, 155; 516, 163; 529, 160; 530, 160; 533, 162; 546, 159 note 28; 552, 160; 561, 157; 574, 157; 582, 111; 597, 154, 154 note 7; 609, 161 note 39; 636, 156; 639, 157; 651, 78, 79; 741, 157; 753, 161; 764, 160, 160 note 36; 843, 154; 886, 155; 895, 161; 977, 161; 999, 159 note 28; 1010, 157; 1100, 158 note 27; 1101, 163; 1109, 164; 1123, 160; 1133, 164; 1147, 159 note 28; 1151, 162; 1156, 159; 1160, 159; 1185, 161; 1221, 159 note 28; 1247, 78; 1256, 119; 1281, 164; 1318, 162; 1320, 157; 1344, 162; 1387, 159; 1412, 161; 1421, 164.
- Stich. 63, 155; 87, 163; 116, 159; 132, 155; 138, 157; 161, 157; 163, 155; 200, 159; 209, 161; 214, 155; 258, 154; 259, 158 note 27; 365, 158 note 27; 383, 155; 387, 155; 412, 152, 160; 420, 158 note 27; 459, 162; 485, 162; 500, 161 note 39; 524, 159; 526, 154; 154 note 8; 638, 161; 748, 159; 760, 157; 768, 156 note 21, 158; 772, 160.
- Trin. 24, 159; 28, 158; 85, 161; 97, 159 note 28; 128, 158; 141, 119; 171, 161; 216, 156 note 21, 157; 220, 161; 331, 154; 365, 158 note 27; 376, 161; 446, 158, 158 note 25; 453, 158 note 27; 456, 159; 548, 159 note 28; 655, 158 note 27; 659, 161; 753, 160; 764, 163; 847, 156 note 21, 158; 962, 156 note 21, 157; 997, 158 note 27; 1011, 159 note 28; 1030, 158; 1057, 157; 1139, 159 note 28; 1168, 157.
- Truc. 35, 159 note 28; 43, 156 note 21, 157; 68, 158; 72, 157; 87, 155; 131, 158 note 27; 134, 159; 136, 160; 149, 159; 216, 159 note 28; 224, 163; 246, 159; 278, 155; 285, 158 note 27; 305, 162; 350, 155; 356, 163; 380, 163; 388, 162; 400, 164; 438, 158 note 27; 447, 155; 484, 160; 517, 161 note 39; 612, 79; 697, 156 note 21, 157; 702, 163; 747, 78; 767, 163, 163 note 50; 774, 157; 781, 160; 782, 163; 797, 158; 798, 157; 812, 158 note 27; 819, 162; 876, 163; 880, 157; 892, 155; 936, 163; 949, 159.
- Vid. 16, 111; 31, 159; 85, 158 note 27.

Index

- Stobaens. Flor. 63. 19, 166.
 Suetonius. Domit. 1 (241, 26), 21;
 3 (242, 36), 23; 4 (244, 6), 27;
 14 (250, 3-4), 28; 20 (253, 6),
 31.
 Iul. 80, 267.
 Tit. 2 (236, 14), 18; 8 (238, 37),
 19; 8 (239, 30), 20.
 Vesp. 2 (225, 24), 7; 4 (226, 12),
 8; 12 (231, 24), 10; 15 (232,
 22), 12; 23, (235, 5), 16.
 Theocritus, 3. 20, 167.
 Tibullus i, 2. 88, 174; 5. 76, 178;
 6. 7, 183; 9. 25, 187; 10. 37,
 191.
 ii. 2. 17-22, 195; 3. 61, 201; 4.
 43, 206.

INDEX VERBORUM

- abducere, without an object, 204.
 acerrimus, at verse-end in Plautus,
 156 note 20.
 adaugescere, 137.
 adesse, 200, 221.
 aeriis, 115.
 aetherius, 115.
 ac (atque), in Suetonius, in con-
 tinuation of ne . . . quidem,
 11; introducing last element
 in groups of three, 32.
 alterum, at verse-end in Plautus,
 157.
 ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, in Lucretius, 108,
 144.
 aratus, referring to a person, 219.
 arbusta, 101.
 ἀρχαιεστία, = comitia, 270.
 argentarius, at verse-end in Plau-
 tus, 156 note 20.
 argenteus, at verse-end in Plautus,
 156 note 20.
 Atticus, at verse-end in Plautus,
 156 note 20.
 aureus, at verse-end in Plautus,
 156 note 20, 157.
 aut, in continuation of ne . . .
 quidem, in Suetonius, 11.
 barathrum, 114.
 barbarus, at verse-end in Plautus,
 156 note 20, 157.
 cadere, meaning of, with verbum,
 votum, vox, etc., 197.
 clauda, 120.
 colligere, always with an object in
 Lucretius, 98.
 color, Lucretius's use of, 105.
 comitiis, in temporal sense, 270,
 271.
 connectere, in Lucretius, 99.
 contendere, Lucretian use of, 140.
 cum quidem, with indicative, in
 Suetonius, 28.
 eum, with subjunctive, or indica-
 tive, 104.
 densare, 129.
 docere, 139.
 ducere, without an object, 204.
 8; 12 (231, 24), 10; 15 (232,
 22), 12; 23, (235, 5), 16.
 esse, ellipsis of, 180, 224; position
 of in pentameter of elegies of
 Tibullus, 182; omissions of, in
 MSS of Corpus Tibullianum,
 183.
 et, in continuation of ne . . . quidem,
 in Suetonius, 11; introducing
 last element in groups of three,
 in Suetonius, 31; repeated,
 134.
 exosa, with the genitive, 9.
 ferre, 118.
 finis, doubtful gender of, 109.
 frangere, 120.
 genere, 117, 118.
 gerere, 118.
 gignere, 118.
 gliscere, 146.
 gratus, with dependent dative, 219.
 iubeo, construction of, in Sueton-
 ius, 18.
 labor, with genitive, 136.
 lacita, 143.
 laeta, 101.
 large, largiter, 104.
 lenonius, at verse-end in Plautus,
 156 note 20.
 manus, at verse-end in Plautus, 160.
 maxumus, at verse-end in Plautus,
 156 note 20, 157.
 mereo, in its military sense, 7.
 merum, and vinum, use of, in Tib-
 ullus, and Propertius, 188.
 merus, at verse-end in Plautus, 156
 note 20, 157.
 mi, elision of, 176.
 mirabiliter, 108.
 μίτραν, 168.
 mittere (in the sense "let go"),
 141.
 monere, 139.
 monstrare, 139.
 motus, personified in Lucretius, 137.
 multimodus, 113.
 mutuus, at verse-end in Plautus,
 156 note 20, 157.
 nam, position of, 179.
 -ne, in the Corpus Tibullianum, 190.

Index

- ne . . . quidem, connectives after, in Suetonius, 11.
- nec, uniting series of three coordinate members, in Tibullus, 209.
- nedum, in continuation of ne . . . quidem, 11.
- neque (nec), as a continuation of ne . . . quidem, 10; as equivalent of non, 13.
- nonne, 190.
- obrütus, 114.
- omnia, at verse-end in Plautus, 157.
- omnigenus, 103.
- optumus, at verse-end in Plautus, 157.
- ovile, 268.
- parce, dative omitted with, in Tibullus, 193; elision of, 194.
- parvolus, at verse-end in Plautus, 157.
- patera, meaning of, 215.
- pauperculus, at verse-end in Plautus, 156 note 20.
- pauillulus, at verse-end in Plautus, 156 note 20.
- per, use of in asseverations, 185.
- perdocere, 139.
- permittere, with an object, 188.
- perosus, with the accusative, 9.
- pessumus, at verse-end in Plautus, 157.
- plumbeus, at verse end in Plautus, 157.
- pons, 274.
- pons suffragiorum, 268.
- praesentarius, at verse-end in Plautus, 156 note 20.
- procellare, 144.
- proximus, at verse-end in Plautus, 157.
- publicus, at verse-end in Plautus, 157.
- que, in continuation of ne . . . quidem, in Suetonius, 11; introducing last element in groups of three, 33.
- quia, 202; trajectory of, 203.
- quidvis, in Lucretius, 101.
- quiescere, in Corpus Tibullianum, 224.
- remove, 118.
- rutilus, as epithet of fire, 212.
- saepe, 190; position of, in Corpus Tibullianum, and in Propertius, 225.
- saepta, 268.
- saevire, use of dative with, 177.
- scindere, 140.
- sed, in continuation of ne . . . quidem, in Suetonius, 11; position at beginning of sentence and verse, 209.
- semovere, 118.
- sentire, Lucretius's use of, 110.
- seu, and sive, found in pairs, in Corpus Tibullianum, 207; singly, 208.
- simulacrum, in Lucretius, 99.
- sonitus, adjectives with, 141.
- sub, following a word ending in s, 134.
- speculum, gender of, uncertain in Lucretius, 119.
- sum, forms of, as enclitics, 159.
- tonetralia, 99.
- tum, 111.
- unus, Tibullus's use of, 174.
- urere, repetitions of, in Tibullus, 194.
- us for -um, 107.
- ut tamen, in Lucretius, 135.
- varias res, 133.
- varius, usage of in Suetonius, 22.
- ve, in continuation of ne . . . quidem, 11.
- vereor with the genitive, 9.
- verum, in continuation of ne . . . quidem, 11.
- vinum, and merum, use of, in Tibullus, and Propertius, 188.
- vocare ad suffragia, 274, 275.

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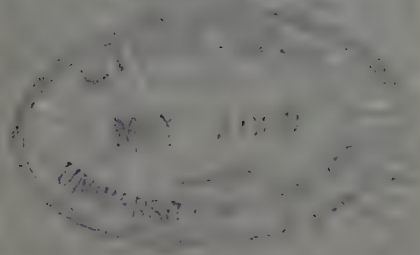
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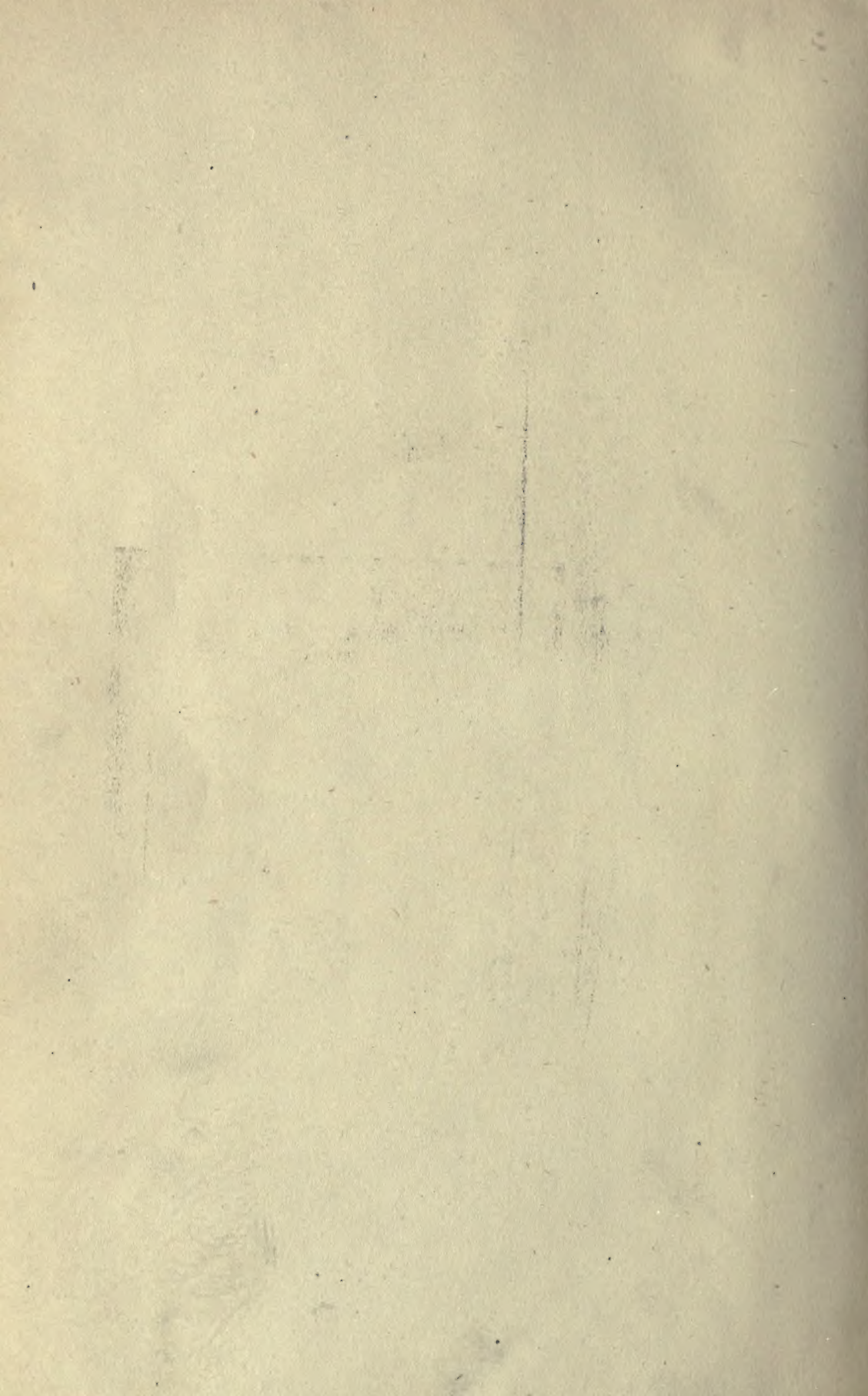
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